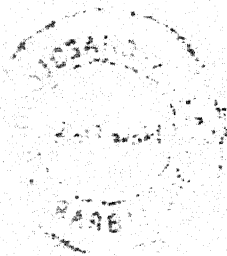


FOREGLEAMS OF GOD



FOREGLEAMS OF GOD

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
HINDUISM, BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY

BY

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of Literature (London),
etc., etc.*



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To

THE RT. REV. C. J. FERGUSON-DAVIE, D.D.,
LORD BISHOP OF SINGAPORE

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED BY THE AUTHOR
NOT TO CLAIM FOR ITS CONCLUSIONS THE
SANCTION OF HIS NAME AND OFFICE, BUT
AS AN APPRECIATION, AFTER ELEVEN YEARS'
PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF HIM, OF HIS BROAD
CHRISTIAN SYMPATHY WITH THE IDEALS AND
ASPIRATIONS OF ALL THAT IS BEST IN THE
NON-CHRISTIAN FAITHS OF INDIA.

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PREFACE

THERE is a man a part of whose daily prayer is as follows :

O Lord, I praise Thy Holy Name for the light of day, for the breath of life, for the privilege of prayer, and for the blessedness of the Hope in Christ Jesus my Saviour, into the fulness of the realization of which Hope may it please Thee to bring all men, everywhere, that none be lost, that none be lost, that none be lost : cast me not away from Thy presence and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me. . . .

It is in this setting of solicitousness for *all men, everywhere*, that the theme of this book is framed. The writer is a Christian and he fain would see all his readers acknowledge and confess the same Lord Jesus Christ of his own conviction and adoration and *bhakti*. Neither contention nor controversy is the aim of the following chapters. A conviction is set forth : its acceptance is a matter of hope. The earnestness with which this hope is entertained, is pleaded, has not, I venture to think, led to any intentional misjudgment of any non-Christian faith.

Portions of two of the following chapters formed part of a series of lectures delivered some years ago in Colombo. The style betraying this circumstance has possibly not been altogether disguised by the re-modelling of such portions for the purposes of this book. The discovery of this fact will not, I trust, be deemed a defect in so far as the thought of the writer is concerned.

The title of this book is not borrowed. This explicit denial is called for by the fact of my finding, in the Penang Library, the Rev. Charles Newton Scott's *Religions of Antiquity*, in the preface of which it is stated that its 1877 title, *Foregleams of Christianity*, had been altered into the present one in 1914. I did not know of Mr Scott's book till mine had been printed. Earlier acquaintance with it, however, would not have mattered much, for Mr. Scott's book and mine are different in conception, plan, contents and outlook. His book, therefore, is not among those acknowledged in the following chapters and specially indicated in the Index of Works. It is for quite another reason that Dr. Estlin Carpenter's *Buddhism and Christianity* (1924) finds no mention among books to which reference is made in ch. xii. Had it reached me before that chapter had been printed, it would have given me great pleasure to draw attention to the parallels and contrasts which Dr. Carpenter's illuminative study so clearly emphasizes, although it is my misfortune not to be able to assent to everything the learned author asserts. In respect of the same chap. xii it is not on grounds of mere disagreement that reference is not made to the observations made, at Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore's *Visvabharati* in Bengal, in August, 1923, by Dr. Winternitz of Prague University as to alleged indebtedness of Christianity to Buddhism. His remarks (as reported in *The Christian Patriot*, September 8, 1923) contribute nothing new to the learning on the subject. Mention must be made of some books which I did not come across till long

after the chapters where reference to them would have been relevant, and even helpful, had been printed. They are:

The Origin of Biblical Traditions, by Prof. A. T. Clay of Yale, on the same lines as his earlier book named below, at p. 386.

The Religion of the Rig Veda, by Dr. H. Griswold.

Indian Images, by Prof. B. C. Bhattacharya, arguing, among other things, in favour of the existence of images of gods in Vedic India.

The Caste System, by Garga Prasad, M.A.

The Comparative Study of Religions, by Prof. A. C. Widgery.

Stray Thoughts on the Literature and Religion of India, by Swami Saradananda.

The Karma-Mimamsa, by Prof. A. B. Keith.

Gautama Buddha, by Prof. K. J. Saunders.

Buddhism in the Modern World, by Prof. K. J. Saunders.

The Antiquity of the Vedas, by Krishna Shastri Godbole, a conservative work reasoning a very early date for the Rig Veda on astronomical grounds.

Rig Vedic India, by Dr. Abinaschandra Das, a stimulating comparative study of early civilization.

My thanks are due to the Rt. Rev. C. J. Ferguson-Davie, D.D., Lord Bishop of Singapore, for kindly reading this book in manuscript and for suggestions which have modified some of the propositions as originally stated in the last chapter. I am very much in the Bishop's debt otherwise than by reason of his association with this book. It is difficult adequately to thank the Rev. H. A. Popley, B.A.,

the well-known Christian Missionary in Madras and one of the foremost of living Tamil scholars in India, for his kindness, in the midst of arduous literary and evangelistic duties, in reading through the proofs of this work, with the exception of the first five or six formes. I have profited considerably by his advice and appreciative sympathy. For the very generous *Introduction* he has contributed I am ever his debtor.

I must not omit to express gratitude to the manager and printers of the Madras Diocesan Press for the very careful and painstaking manner in which they have seen the work through the press. A few typographical errors in the footnotes have, however, escaped their vigilance—just to show that printers are, like all of us, human. The author's share of responsibility is not hereby put on the printer. It is a matter for appreciation that the Diocesan Press is equipped with Greek and Hebrew types, although it may be discovered by the very critical readers (in search of such things as the split infinitive) that the genius of the printers appears to have been taxed more by Greek words than by Hebrew ones.

T. I. T.

The Feast of the Epiphany, 1925,

PENANG.

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ERRATA

N.B.—The obvious is not intended to be included in this list. The presence or absence of a comma or other such mark, or of the proper article in Index i or elsewhere, is not likely to mislead the reader very seriously.

Page xviii. Read *Outline*. Also at pp. xxiii. 436.

- 15 Read *Zaborowski*.
- 23 Note 4, read 1. 2. 8.
- 35 Read Acts, xiv.
- 41 Note 1, read *Dawson*.
- 42 The 2nd foot-note refers to Wilson's *Rig Veda*
- 43 Note 4, read Macdonald.
- 55 Note 4, read xvi. 390 for xvi. 319.
- 63 Note 2, read vi. 75.
- 70 Note 2, read *The Gods of the Egyptians* (see p. 434).
- 74 The references are as at p. 73 to the *Rig Veda*.
- 74 Note 1, read iv. 1. 4 for lv. 1. 4.
- 75 Read Aryaman for Aryan.
- 80 Note 2, read Bergaigne (see p. 440).
- 84 Line 3 from top, read Pushan.
- 87 Reference in notes 3 to 7 are to the *Rig Veda*.
- 98 Note 4, read *Saint*.
- 100 § 2, read *Yasaka*.
- 101 § 2 end, read *Brahmanaspati*.
- 109 Note 1, the last '2' is unnecessary.
- 114 Note 8, the second reference is to *R. V.* ii. 33. 13.
- 132 Note 3, read 2 Chr. xx. 7 (see p. 447).
- 137 Note 2, read x. 124. 1 for x. 12. 4. 1.
- 139 Note 2, last reference should be x. 85. 16 (see p. 457).
- 157 Note 2, for § 8 read § 9.
- 166 Note 6, the first reference is to *Chand*
- 177 Note 4, for rate read sake.
- 186 Note, the reference is to Appendix, Note F.
- 193 Note 2 refers to the *Gita*.
- 222 Note 2, the learned writer is Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson
(see p. 445).
- 235 Note 9, delete 5. 21. 1, and read 3. 1. 1, before 3. 2. 9
- 241 Note 1, read supreme austerities.
- 243 Note 2 refers to *Katha*. Put second bracket after '4'.
- 248 Note 1 wants numbering.
- 248 Note 1, the reference is to the *Vendidad*.
- 248 Note 1, for S.B.B. read S.B.E.

- Page 256 Note 2 refers to S.B.E. i.
 „ 256 Note 3, the *Brihad* reference should be 6. 2. 15
 (see p. 461).
 „ 271 Note 5, the Talmudic tractate is BeRakot.
 „ 286 Note 2, *read* T.W.
 „ 286 Note 2, the page of the book is 34.
 „ 298 *Read* Kalplakshas *for* Kaplakshas.
 „ 299 Note 1, *read* Suttanta.
 „ 329 *Read* Paramitas.
 „ 331 Note 1, *read* xv.
 „ 376 *Read* Organized *for* orgayized.
 „ 391 Note 3, *read* H.D.C.G. The Rev. A. S. Martin's article
 is *not* in H.D.B., and the words, therefore, 'in the
 same work', in the body of p. 391 should be deleted.
 „ 400 *Read* Isaiah, lxii. *for* lxxii.
 „ 420 para. 6 sub-paras 2.3, supply 'render', after 'or'
 „ 433 Prof. Legge's name should be F. Legge.
 „ 440 Insert Bruce, D.D., Rev. Prof. A.B., 387.
 „ 444 *Read* Scaramelli, also at p. 279.

INTRODUCTION

THE religion of Hinduism still constitutes one of the most interesting studies in the religious history of the world. Scholars of all nations have studied it, with more or less illumination, and still it is found to contain new aspects of thought and experience which had not been fully presented hitherto. Its wide range, including as it does the lowest types of religious life as well as some of the highest expressions of worship and devotion which humanity has achieved apart from Jesus Christ, makes it extraordinarily fascinating both to the student of humanity and to the student of religion. It reminds one of India itself which includes within its borders some of the most precious monuments of the world like the Taj Mahal, the Pearl Mosque and the Dravidian temples of the South, some of the most stupendous mountain heights on the earth with their snow-clad tops defying the efforts of men, and some of the most luxuriant and beautiful gardens of tropical produce to be found anywhere in the world, as well as some of the poorest villages and most primitive implements to be found anywhere. Hinduism has its glorious heights of spiritual altitude and experience and also its nauseous depths touching the lowest strata of human thought and feeling. In fact it prides itself on ministering to the existing need of every man however low or however high he may be.

The study of Hinduism is a difficult study, not only because of its own intrinsic abstruseness, but also because of the very large amount of literature that is connected with it and has been written about it. This literature is found in every language of any pretension to intellectual eminence in the world. The forty-two different languages of India all contain original works of Hindu religion which the student ought to know. Dr. J. N. Farquhar's book entitled *The Outlines of the Religious Literature of India* gives some idea of the wonderful range and wealth of this literature, dating as it does from prehistoric times until this day. It is not easy even for a student of Hinduism to find his way about in its vast tracts and to be able to see the meaning of it all.

One is therefore always glad to find a book which helps us to understand the meaning of this religion from a new point of view. The book entitled *Foregleams of God* to which I have been asked to write this introduction is such a book. It attempts to picture the development of Hinduism from the point of view of religious experience and of the development of the revelation of God in Hinduism looking towards its final consummation in Jesus Christ. The only other book which attempts to do this with any thoroughness as far as I know is Dr. Farquhar's *Crown of Hinduism*: and this new book therefore is a very welcome one. It is written by a Tamil Christian layman who has made a deep and sympathetic study of Hinduism not only in its classical Sanskrit forms, but also in its Dravidian forms as expressed in the life and

literature of the Tamil people. Outside of Sanskrit there is no other religious literature in India which is so wide and which reaches such heights of devotion and spirituality as the Tamil literature. The author therefore possesses a peculiar fitness for his task in his acquaintance with the literature of these two languages. His facility in English too is such that he is able to write for us a book which can rank with the best productions of English scholars.

The author asked me to go through the proofs. Unfortunately I did not begin to do so until a number of pages had already been struck off, or I would certainly have urged that diacritical signs should be introduced in Indian words. However, it has been a very great pleasure and profit to me to read through the proofs of this work. I have read a very great deal on Hinduism but I have not come across anything else which deals with the subject in quite the same way as this book. We are able through this book to survey this wonderful religion from new angles and to realize more clearly its bearing upon the revelation in Jesus Christ and upon the purpose of God for the world. The wide range of the author's reading and the depth of his scholarship entitle the work to the earnest consideration of all students of religion and particularly of those who are seeking to present to the Indian people the teaching of Jesus Christ.

The book deals specially with early Hinduism and Buddhism giving many quotations from the *Rig Veda*, *Upanishads*, *Code of Manu*, the *Gita* and

other Hindu sacred works. It helps us to understand how God prepared the way for His Son Jesus Christ; and it is enriched throughout with the author's own personal observations of Hindu life and thought as well as of his experience of the power of Christ. I am sure that Hindus as well as Christians will find the book a real help of very great value.

H. A. POPLEY

MADRAS.

ABBREVIATIONS

I. GENERAL

See Indexes i and ii for Works cited and Writers.

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| <i>A.S.L.</i> | ... Max Müller's <i>Ancient Sanscrit Literature.</i> |
| <i>Ad. fin.</i> | ... Towards the end. |
| <i>Ad. loc.</i> | ... At the place. |
| <i>Ad. Philad.</i> | ... <i>The Epistle of S. Ignatius to the Philadelphians.</i> |
| <i>Adv. Gentes</i> | ... <i>The Seven Books of Arnobius against the Nations.</i> |
| <i>Adv. Hær.</i> | ... <i>The Five Books of Irenæus against Heresies.</i> |
| <i>App.</i> | ... Appendix. |
| <i>Antiq.</i> | ... <i>The Antiquities of the Jews,</i> by Flavius Josephus. |
| <i>B. Theol. of N.T.</i> | ... Weiss' <i>Biblical Theology of the New Testament.</i> |
| <i>Bell. Jud.</i> | ... <i>The Jewish War,</i> by Flavius Josephus. |
| <i>Bib. Psych.</i> | ... <i>A System of Biblical Psychology,</i> by F. Delitzsch. |
| <i>Bodham</i> | ... <i>The Siva Gnana Bodham.</i> |
| <i>C.H.I.</i> | ... <i>The Cambridge History of India.</i> |
| <i>C.H.Ind.</i> | ... <i>Do. do.</i> |
| <i>C.Q.R.</i> | ... <i>The Church Quarterly Review.</i> |
| <i>Chips.</i> | ... Max Müller's <i>Chips from a German Workshop.</i> |
| <i>Clem. Alex.</i> | ... Clement of Alexandria. |
| <i>Conf.</i> | ... S. Augustine's <i>Confessions.</i> |
| <i>D.F.L.</i> | ... Alger's <i>Doctrine of a Future Life.</i> |
| <i>De Doct. Christ.</i> | ... <i>Four Books on Christian Doctrine,</i> by S. Augustine. |

| | | |
|----------------------------|-----|--|
| <i>De Resurr. Carnis</i> | ... | Tertullian's <i>De Resurrectione Carnis</i> . |
| <i>E R.E.</i> | ... | Hastings' <i>Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics</i> . |
| <i>Esch.</i> | ... | <i>Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish and Christian</i> , by R. H. Charles. |
| <i>Essentials</i> | ... | Sabaratnam Mudaliyar's <i>The Essentials of Hinduism</i> . |
| <i>Expos.</i> | ... | <i>The Expositor</i> . |
| <i>F.O.T.</i> | ... | Frazer's <i>Folklore in the Old Testament</i> . |
| <i>F.R.C.</i> | ... | Legge's <i>Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity</i> . |
| <i>Gita</i> | ... | <i>The Bhagavad Gita</i> . |
| <i>H.D.B.</i> | ... | Hastings' <i>Dictionary of the Bible</i> . |
| <i>H.D.C.G.</i> | ... | Hastings' <i>Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels</i> . |
| <i>H.I.P.</i> | ... | Dasgupta's <i>History of Indian Philosophy</i> . |
| <i>H.T.R.</i> | ... | <i>The Harvard Theological Review</i> |
| <i>Hind. Icon.</i> | ... | T. A. Gopinatha Rao's <i>Elements of Hindu Iconography</i> . |
| <i>Int. Cr. Commentary</i> | ... | <i>International Critical Commentary</i> . |
| <i>J. Am. Or. Society</i> | ... | <i>The Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> . |
| <i>J.G.O.S.</i> | ... | <i>The Journal of the German Oriental Society</i> . |
| <i>J.R.A.S.</i> | ... | <i>The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> . |
| <i>J.T.S.</i> | ... | <i>The Journal of Theological Studies</i> . |
| <i>J.T.V.I.</i> | ... | <i>The Journal and Transactions of the Victoria Institute</i> . |
| <i>L.A.I.</i> | ... | Srinivas Iyengar's <i>Life in Ancient India</i> . |
| <i>L.Q.R.</i> | ... | <i>The London Quarterly Review</i> . |
| <i>Nalla. Bodham</i> | ... | Nallaswamy Pillai's <i>Translation of Siva Gnāna Bodham</i> . |

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|-------------------------|-----|--|
| Nalla. <i>Siddhiyar</i> | ... | Nallaswamy Pillai's Translation of <i>Siva Gnāna Siddhiyar</i> . |
| Nalla. <i>Studies</i> | ... | Nallaswamy Pillai's <i>Studies in the Saiva Siddhanta</i> . |
| O.R.L.I. | ... | Farquhar's <i>Outlines of the Reli- gious Literature of India</i> . |
| O.S. | } | Muir's <i>Original Sanscrit Texts</i> . |
| O.S.T. | | |
| P.A.I. | ... | Garbe's <i>Philosophy of Ancient India</i> . |
| P.T.R. | ... | <i>The Princeton Theological Review</i> . |
| Peake | ... | Peake's <i>Commentary on the Bible</i> . |
| Phil. of Plot. | ... | Inge's <i>Philosophy of Plotinus</i> . |
| R.V. | ... | <i>The Rig Veda</i> . |
| Rabbin. Comm. | ... | A Rabbinical Commentary. |
| Refut. | ... | <i>The Refutation of all Heresies</i> , by Hippolytus. |
| Rev. Rev. | ... | Burton's <i>Revision Revised</i> . |
| S.B.B. | ... | <i>The Sacred Books of the Bud- dhists</i> . |
| S.B.E. | ... | <i>The Sacred Books of the East</i> . |
| S.L. | ... | Macdonell's <i>Sanskrit Literature</i> . |
| S.S. | ... | Keith's <i>Samkhya System</i> . |
| <i>Siddhiyar</i> | ... | <i>The Siva Gnāna Siddhiyar</i> . |
| <i>Strom.</i> | ... | <i>Stromata : Or The Miscellanies</i> , of Clement of Alexandria. |
| <i>Studies</i> | ... | Nallaswamy Pillai's <i>Studies in the Saiva Siddhanta</i> . |
| S.T. | } | Muir's <i>Original Sanskrit Texts</i> . |
| <i>Sanskrit Texts</i> | | |
| <i>Svet</i> | ... | <i>The Svetasvatara Upanishad</i> (See Index vi.) |
| V.S. | ... | <i>Vaisnavism, Saivism and minor Religious Systems</i> , by R. G. Bhandarkar. |
| <i>Valak.</i> | ... | <i>Valakhilya</i> , supplement to <i>Rig- Veda</i> , Book viii. |

II. BIBLICAL

See Index iii.

| | | |
|----------|-----|---|
| A.V. | ... | The Authorized Version of the Bible. |
| Chr. | ... | The Book of Chronicles. |
| Col. | ... | The Epistle to the Colossians. |
| Cor. | ... | The Epistles to the Corinthians. |
| Dan. | ... | The Book of Daniel. |
| Deut. | ... | The Book of Deuteronomy. |
| Ex. | { | ... The Book of Exodus. |
| Exod. | | |
| Ezekiel | ... | The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel. |
| Gal. | ... | The Epistle to the Galatians. |
| Gen. | ... | The Book of Genesis. |
| Hab. | ... | The Book of the Prophet Habakkuk. |
| Hag. | ... | The Book of the Prophet Haggai. |
| Heb. | ... | The Epistle to the Hebrews. |
| Hos. | ... | The Book of the Prophet Hosea. |
| Jeremiah | ... | The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah |
| John | ... | The Gospel according to S. John. |
| Levit. | ... | The Book of Leviticus. |
| Lu. | ... | The Gospel according to S. Luke. |
| LXX. | ... | The Greek Version of the Old Testament. |
| Mal. | ... | The Book of the Prophet Malachi. |
| Matt | { | ... The Gospel according to S. Matthew. |
| Mt. | | |
| Mk. | ... | The Gospel according to S. Mark. |
| N.T. | .. | The New Testament. |
| Neh. | ... | The Book of Nehemiah. |
| Numb. | ... | The Book of Numbers. |
| O.T. | ... | The Old Testament. |
| Pet. | { | ... The Epistles of S. Peter. |
| Pt. | | |
| Ps. | ... | The Book of Psalms. |
| R.V. | ... | The Revised Version of the Bible. |
| Rev. | ... | The Book of Revelation. |

| | | | |
|--------|---|-----|------------------------------------|
| Ro. | { | ... | The Epistle to the Romans. |
| Rom. | | | |
| Sam. | | ... | The Book of Samuel. |
| Thess. | | ... | The Epistles to the Thessalonians. |
| Tim. | | ... | The Epistles to S. Timothy. |
| Tit. | | ... | The Epistle to S. Titus. |
| Zech. | | ... | The Book of the Prophet Zechariah. |

Παρακαλῶ πρῶτον πάντων ποιεῖσθαι δεήσεις, προσευχάς, ἐντεύξεις, εὐχαριστίας, ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων τοῦτο καλὸν καὶ ἀπόδεκτον ἐνώπιον τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Θεοῦ, ὃς πάντας ἀνθρώπους θέλει σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν. εἰς γὰρ Θεός, εἰς καὶ μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἄνθρωπος Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὁ δὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων, τὸ μαρτύριον καιροῖς ἰδίους.

I exhort that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings be made for all men. . . . This is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who willeth that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth. For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time.

S. PAUL.

CHAPTER I

IN THE DIM DAWN

§1. Hinduism is the oldest of the world's great faiths. Its literature is traceable to a point of time long anterior to Aristotle and Plato and Socrates, Isaiah and Solomon, Zoroaster, the composition of the Iliad, the fall of Troy—so carrying the beginnings of its earliest books to at least the period of Israel's captivity in Egypt, if not up to the time of Hammurabi.¹ There is reason to suppose even a far higher antiquity,² though not to the extent which the lack of sufficient historical data has made it possible to be asserted, e.g. that the Vedas are coeval with eternity.³ Hinduism in its various forms is the religion of over two hundred millions of our brothers and sisters, and countless numbers have lived and died in it, finding in its marvellous many-sidedness solace and strength for the world that now is and hope for that which is to be. It is the religion of knowledge: the subtlety of its philosophy is bewildering. It is a religion of ritual: its wealth of ceremonial is enormous. Its susceptibility to adaptation is amazing: there is a higher

¹ See below, ch. iii, §§ 10-11.

² *Ibid.*, § 11, note.

³ This is asserted in literature later than the *Rig Veda*, e.g. *Atharva*, x. 7. 20; xiii. 4. 38; xix. 54. 3. *Bhagavata Purana*, iii. 12. 34. 37.

Hinduism and a lower, a Hinduism of the philosopher and a Hinduism of the man in the street. In its aspirations after universality it has been found to make itself elastic enough to embrace such striking contrasts as well-nigh imperil all claims to consistency. Hinduism is professed from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and southwards in Ceylon, especially in the Northern and the Eastern Provinces. It is the religion of the many in these places, and the philosophy of the few in foreign countries.

§2. Christians owe this ancient faith a great duty. It is due to all non-Christian faiths. The duty is rendered easy of performance by daily increasing advancement in knowledge. The comparative study of religions in recent years has contributed much towards establishing relations of friendliness, brotherliness and even concession among persons acknowledging diversities of belief. This has involved no surrender of positions and no serious compromise. The losses have been few, the gains infinitely great. On those blessed with culture and information the sublime duty of tolerance has been imposed without its being in any degree burdensome. For such, and they are happily many, the edge of religious invective has been blunted on the broad shield of the brotherhood of man. True, war has not ceased, but the din of abuse no longer mingles with the clash of arms. The weapons of war have indeed not been laid aside, the armour of the warrior does not rust in disuse, men have not yet beaten their swords into ploughshares nor their spears into pruninghooks, and hence there are not many that

hasten to gather in a harvest of universal peace in religion. The energy, however, else expended by brother warring against brother is oft focussed against a common foe, against principalities and powers, against the rulers of darkness and spiritual wickedness. The time is come, yea now is, when there is a glad compulsion to confess that God has never left Himself without a witness,¹ that illumination of the Spirit is without respect of persons,² and that verily there is a Light that lighteth every man that cometh into this world.³

§3. It would be doing the Christian position serious injustice to suppose that it relegates the religion of Christ to an undistinguishable commonness. To the Christian his religion is not so much man's quest after God as God's quest after man. Sufficient is revealed to him to guide him aright along the path to salvation, yet much remains unrevealed. The secret things belong unto the Lord our God, but those things that are revealed belong unto us and our children that we may act.⁴ The Christian knows that admission into the Kingdom of Heaven is absolutely conditioned on his acceptance of it as a little child,⁵ and so to him the road does not run through the intricate maze of philosophic thought and the bewildering labyrinths of human learning. Christianity is catholic enough to recognize that in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him,⁶ and it is at the same time consistently uncompromising enough to insist that 'there is none other

¹ Acts xiv. 17. ² *Ibid.*, x. 34. ³ S. John i. 9. ⁴ Deut. xxxi. 29.

⁵ S. Mark x. 15; S. Luke xviii. 17.

⁶ Acts x. 35.

Name under Heaven given among men whereby we must be saved.'¹ The Christian is not driven to the attitude of tolerance and recognition towards other faiths than his by anything that has happened in recent years, though events of modern times have heightened his sense of duty. From the earliest times this duty has seemed clear. Saint Augustine,² a doctor of the Church, laid it down, 'Whoever is a good and true Christian, let him recognize that Truth, wherever he may have found it, belongs to his Lord.' Justin Martyr, one of the early Christian apologists, claimed that whatsoever things have been rightly uttered in all places are the property of us, Christians.³ He reckoned as Christians Socrates and Heraclitus, the Greek philosophers.⁴ These voices of Christian antiquity find distinct echoes in the authoritative pronouncement of the Lambeth Conference of 1907 :—

The truth of the fullness of Christ must guide our attitude towards other religions . . . None of these can be a real competitor with that of which the claim to be the one true faith is thus intrinsic and necessary. But, Christians must never hesitate to look for what is true and good in them, to recognize that they have had a place in the purpose of the one living God of all the earth, and to try to lead men by the truths which they know to Him, the Truth, in whom all truths meet.⁵

§4. It is in this spirit, it seems to me, that a Christian may enter upon the study of Hinduism. To the ignorant and bigoted sectarian Hinduism is on the same footing as any form of fetishism, and

¹ Acts iv. 12.

² *De Doct. Christ.*, ii. 18.

³ *Apology* ii. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 46.

⁵ *Lambeth Encyclical*, 1907.

Hindus worshippers of wood and stone, the workmanship of their own hands. To think so is to shut one's eyes most perversely to much, how very much so few know, that is great and noble in Hinduism, and to the basic principle of the comparative study of religions, that the ethnic faiths were the preparation for the religion of the greatest of Asiatics,¹ Jesus the Nazarene. They had to exhaust their possibilities² before the fulness of time could come, in the course of progressive revelation, for the self-manifestation of God to man. They are a part of that Divine discipline by which the race of man has been tutored and trained for the requirements of a fuller revelation.³ Many non-Christian faiths have been as darkness before the dawn, others as the dawn before the daylight, and the thoughts of their making as the songs before sunrise. Rightly has it been said, 'The pre-Christian religions were the age-long prayers, and the Incarnation was the answer.'⁴

§5. One of the most instructive illustrations afforded by early Hinduism of a great Christian fundamental is found in some of those books called *Brahmanas*, dated, at a minimum, as belonging to 800-600 B.C.⁵ Here are a few suggestive passages :

1. The Lord of all creatures gave himself to the devas and became their sacrifice. He then created sacrifice as his

¹ One of the most eloquent of Keshub Chunder Sen's addresses was that which concluded with the words 'Jesus the Asiatic'.

² See Slater's *Higher Hinduism*, p. 35.

³ Barrow's, *Barrows Lectures*, 1897, p. 12.

⁴ Illingworth, in *Lux Mundi*, p. 208.

⁵ Barnett, *Gita*, Introduction, p. 3. Max Müller, *Ancient Sanscrit Literature*, p. 435. Haug places the bulk of the *Brahmanas* at 1400-1200 B.C. See below, ch. ii, §7.

own image or counterpart. Hence they say that the Lord of all creatures is Sacrifice.¹

2. The sacrificer is himself the victim. The sacrifice takes the very sacrificer himself into heaven.²

3. The sacrificer is indeed the sacrifice.³

4. Thou art the propitiation of sins committed by gods. Thou art the propitiation of sins committed by the fathers. Thou art the propitiation of sins committed by men. Thou art the propitiation of sins committed by ourselves. Whatever sins we have committed, knowingly or unknowingly, thou art the propitiation thereof. Thou art the propitiation of sin—of sin.⁴

5. The Lord of creatures offered Himself as sacrifice for the benefit of the devas.⁵

6. Of the Lord of creatures one-half was mortal, the other immortal and with that which was mortal he was afraid of death.⁶

7. That which is sacrifice is the soul of all beings and of all devas.⁷

8. The Lord of creatures is the Sacrifice. He is both of these things declared and undeclared, limited and unlimited. Whatever the priest does with the Yajur text, with that he consecrates that form of the Lord of creatures which is declared and limited. And what the priest does silently, with that he consecrates the form which is undeclared and unlimited.⁸

¹ *Satapatha Brahmana*, xi. 1. 8. 2.

² *Aittiriyā Brahmana*, iii. 12. 4. 3.

³ *Aittiriyā Brahmana*, i. 28.

⁴ *Tandya Maha Brahmana*, p. 55.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 410. The word 'devas' denotes beings who are superior to men and inferior to God. In the *Rig Veda* x. 13. 4 is a passage with which *Philippians* ii. 6. 8 may be compared. It runs: 'He [Yama, latterly god of death], for the sake of the devas, chose death to be his portion. Seeking the good of men he chose not life eternal.' Yama was the first to find the path of Death.

⁶ *Satapatha Brahmana*, ii. 4. 1. 1; x. 1. 3. 2; x. 1. 4. 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, xiv. 3, 2, 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, xiv. 1. 2. 18. 'Yajur' is the Brahmanic book of ritual.

In the first seven passages familiar Christian ideas find more than mere verbal forecast—the Priest and Victim being one,¹ the sacrifice from of old,² and the propitiation for the sins of the whole world.³ The eighth quotation is full of Eucharistic foreshadowing. One is led to guess that so important a truth as the scheme of salvation, universal and unrestricted to any one man, must have had at the earliest possible age of thought a widespread commonness of statement.

It is safer to advance the belief than to doubt it that there was for a long time an ancient unwritten background to written prophecy, Hindu and non-Hindu, and that the unwritten oracles were the common possession of the peoples of the earth, Jew, Assyrian, Babylonian, Hindu. What was this, the oldest, of unwritten oracles?

¹ Heb. x. 10, 12; ix. 11-14.

² *Ibid.*, x. 5. Rev. xiii. 8.

³ 1 John ii. 2. In *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 127, Prof. Keith criticizing some of Sir James Frazer's far-fetched fancies in *The Scapegoat* (pp. 224-228, 275-305, 410) points out that the conception of the dying god and his resurrection is *not* Vedic, 'that a god should be actually sacrificed *by men* is clearly foreign to Vedic religious conceptions and it is most improbable that the theosophic speculation (*Rig Veda* x. 90) of the origin of the universe from Purusha is due in any way to the evidence of a practice of slaying *an embodiment of the god*.' What Prof. Keith corrects is Sir J. Frazer's statement, 'The conception may be said to culminate in the Brahmanical doctrine that in the daily sacrifice the body of the Creator is broken anew for the salvation of the world.' *There is no such doctrine*. On sacrifice see below, ch. iv, §§11-15. On sacrifice in the *Rig Veda* may be quoted here the words of Dorothea Jane Stephen in her *Studies in Early Indian Thought*, p. 19, 'This divine nature acts not only as priest but as sacrifice; and when we reach this point we seem, as often happens in the study of Indian thought, to be coming very near to Christian doctrine. And then when we expect to see it unfold before us, we find the path turn, and lead us in the opposite direction.'

§6. The revelation of the hope of a suffering and victorious Redeemer, it is believed, was preserved in the naming of the stars and their grouping into signs and constellations.¹ Attention has been drawn to the circumstance that each sign of the zodiac is accompanied by three constellations called decans, the first of which originally connected with Virgo is that now called Coma Berenicus, but is in the ancient decans represented by a young woman holding an infant in her lap. This had been corrupted by the Alexandrian astrologers who in the globes altered *coma* meaning 'the Desired' into *κομη* meaning 'hair'. They omitted the long-desired child. An Arab physician, Al-Bumezar,² of the ninth century wrote, 'There ariseth in the first decan, as the Persians, Chaldæans, Egyptians, the two Hermes and Ascalius teach, a young woman whose Persian name translated into Arabic is Androædefa, a pure virgin, holding two ears of corn and nursing an infant.' And, curiously enough, Shakespeare³ refers to an arrow shot into the stars to reach 'the goodly boy in Virgo's lap'. It has also been noted as remarkable that in the sign Scorpio, in the constellation Ophiuchus, is a man wrestling with a serpent and his heel in the act of being stung by the scorpion.

*Virgo.*⁴ The star Alzimach = Branch. Isa. iv. 2; Zech. iii. 8; vi. 12.

¹ *Companion Bible*, Part i, App. 12. Kinns, *Moses and Geology*, p. 424.

² Quoted in *Moses and Geology*, p. 425. See Dr. Schofield in *Expositor*, 1920, p. 78.

³ *Titus Andronicus* iv. 3.

⁴ The rest of this section is from the *Companion Bible*, to which the writer is much indebted.

(a) Coma = The Desired. Egyptian name is Shesnu = Desired. Hag. ii. 7; Numb. xxiv. 17.

(b) Centaurus, the two-natured. Arabic Al Beze = the Despised. Isa. liii. 3.

(c) Bo-otes, The Coming One, with branch. Egyptian Smat = One who rules.

Libra. Anciently the altar of sacrifice. Its two bright stars are known in modern Arabic, Zuben al Ganubi = the price which is deficient, and Zuben al Chemali = the price which covers.

(a) Crux. (Heb. *Karath* = cut off.) Dan. ix. 26.

(b) Lupus. (Heb. *Zabah* = slain.) In the zodiac of Denderah sura = Lamb.

(c) Corona. (Heb. *Atarah* = royal crown.) Its brightest star is Al Phenax = the Shining One.

Scorpio. Arabic al Atera = the wounding of the Coming One. Brightest star is Antares = wounding (Arabic).

(a) Serpens: Brightest star is Heb. Anak = encompassing.

(b) Ophiuchus: Arab. Afeichus = Serpent held. Brightest star is Ras al Hagus = the head of him who holds. There is also the star Triophas = treading under foot. Saiph = bruised.

(c) Hercules. In the zodiac of Denderah Bau = who cometh. Brightest star is Ras al Gethi = Head of Him who bruises.

Sagittarius. In the zodiac of Denderah Fent-Kar = Serpent subdued.

(b) Ara. Altar upside down. Isa. lxiii. 4, 5. In Arabic Al Mugamara = the completing or finishing.

(c) Draco. In the zodiac of Denderah it is a serpent trodden upon.¹

¹ 'To the Babylonians the moving stars served as interpreters of the Divine will, and in relation to these the whole heaven of fixed stars is as a commentary written along the margin of a book of revelation' (Jeremias, *O. T. in the Light of the Ancient East*, vol. 1, p. 10.) It is at the same time true that 'constellation figures are imaginary only; there are no bulls or rams in the sky, and no one can see them there.' (E. W. Maunder, in *London Quarterly Review*,

§ 7. The testimony thus borne, by men assigning to groups of stars forms and meanings, by the ancient zodiacs to the existence of a world-wide prophecy of the seed of the woman bruising the head of the serpent¹ lifts the seeming coincidences above the plane of theories and gives to Hindu and non-Hindu signs, types, prophecy and ritual the reality of an universal expectation of 'the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world'.² Thus, one may see a significance in the Brahmanic reference of the Lord offering Himself as a sacrifice, and we need not be surprised if a Tamil mystic, of the eighteenth century of our era, exclaims in ecstasy, 'What profit is there in me to Him, who giving Himself for me, compassed me about with protection?'.³ A South Indian scholarly exponent of the Saiva Siddhanta philosophy, Mr. J. M. Nallaswamy Pillai, writes in almost Christian terms, 'So far is true, that unless God comes down as man and Guru, and touches man with His grace, man cannot attain salvation.'⁴ Who can say that Christ did

October, 1912, p. 225.) See also Brown's *Primitive Constellations* ii. 226. The earliest date when men began to standardize the imaginary arrangement is fixed by Mr. Maunder at 2700 B.C., and the location as somewhere in N. Lat. 38°. Mr. Maunder's criticism of much that is in the two volumes of Jeremias is just.

¹ Gen. iii. 15.

² Rev. xiii. 8. What is suggested here is that as early at least as the time of the standardization of the zodiac there had begun to exist some traditional religious teaching inseparable from the zodiacal figures. The theory is very reverently worked out in *Moses and Geology*.

³ S. *Tāyūmānavar*. See present writer's English edition, *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, Madras, 1921.

⁴ *Siva Gnāna Bhōdam*, English Edition, p. 88. See present writer's *Gate Beautiful* in *The East and The West* for January, 1915.

not manifest Himself to the saints of Hinduism, and unto many of them His name did not suffice, and they were not like Abraham¹ who rejoiced to see His day, saw it, and was glad? Hinduism is indeed the most noteworthy of the forerunners of Christianity, and truly God who 'at many times, in many manners, spoke to the ancients by the prophets hath in these last days spoken unto us in His Son.'²

¹ S. John viii. 56.

² Heb. i. 1. See Garvie's *Tutors unto Christ*, and Bouquet's. *Is Christianity the Final Religion?*

CHAPTER II

RECORDS OF THE FAITH

§1. Every religion has its books. Christianity has the Bible which is really not a book, but a collection of many books. Parseeism has the Zend-Avesta of Zoroaster. The Qur'án is sacred and authoritative to the followers of Muhammad. The Pitakas are among the best known of the books of Buddhism. The Old Testament and the Midrash, the Mishna and the Gemara afford Judaism rules of conduct and guidance in faith. The present-day student of religions is ready to admit that the origins of a religion are antecedent in point of date to its earliest literature. The Qur'án sprang from Islam; Buddhism had spread far before its first book came to be written. The books of the New Testament are the outcome of Christianity. The reverse process, of the religion being the product of its books, is exceptional in the history of religious *origins*, but the influence of its literature upon the development of dogma in a religion is, of course, not to be disregarded. The principles of progressive revelation, the gradual unfolding of truth, are strikingly illustrated in the history of the literature of a religion, though it may not always seem an easy matter to sift the purely human from the higher influences in the evolution of a faith.

§2. Scholars have subjected the books of the Bible to what are known as the higher criticism and the lower. The latter is largely textual, and affords scope for decision in view of the many manuscripts extant, particularly of the books of the New Testament. The higher is conducted extensively on non-textual grounds, and, in the case of the Old Testament especially, a considerable element of speculation has been admitted. These elaborate higher critical methods which are not without their limitations and shortcomings cannot be applied to the books of Hinduism in so large a measure as in the case of the Bible, for the simple reason of the lack of sufficient historical data¹. However, the historical background of Hindu religious literature has been ascertained sufficiently to control the claims of unhistorical exaggeration. The dates, according to European and Indian scholars, are not indeed quite precise, and it is doubtful if they are at best even approximate.²

§3. With Judaism, the period 1500-1050 B.C. has been deemed by some scholars as the primitive age of song and story, of oral traditions, ballads, fables, myths.³ The oral and the traditional have always preceded the written. It has been observed, 'Pure Brahmans never speak of their granthas or books. They speak of their Veda which means knowledge. They speak of their Sruti, that which they have heard with their ears ; of Smriti, that which their fathers have declared unto them. There are

¹ See below, ch. iii, §§ 10-11.

² *Ibid.*, § 11 and note.

³ Kent's *Beginnings of Hebrew History*, chart.

sayings, teachings, preachings, proofs, but we never meet with a book or a volume or a page.'¹ The three Vedas, the earliest books of Hinduism, had for centuries been handed down from generation to generation entirely by memory, and the oral tradition was faithfully kept. Writing was so far discouraged, in respect of Hindu religious tradition, that the knowing of them from a written source was deemed devoid of saving grace and redeeming merit.² The rules forbidding the reduction of traditions to writing was undoubtedly framed at a time when the art of writing had come into use, and some enterprising person had perhaps taken in hand the reduction of oral truths to writing, and even making of them a commercial asset. The horror of reducing Vedic knowledge to writing survived to the age of the *Mahabharata*, the longest epic poem in the world, and whose ancient sections have been ascribed to pre-Buddhistic times.³ It is written in the *Mahabharata*, 'Those who sell the Vedas and even those who write them, as also those who defile them, shall go to hell. . . That knowledge of the truth is worthless if it has to be learned from a writing or received from a Sudra.' We find a close parallel to the Hindu tenacity to tradition in the zeal, scrupulosity and care with which the Jews, for many centuries, preserved in oral tradition the vowel marks of the entire Old Testament.

¹ Max Müller, *A.S.L.*, p. 512.

² *Ibid.*, p. 502.

³ Monier Williams, *Indian Epic Poetry*, pp. 16, 17. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 285, thinks that the original form of the epic came into being about the fifth century B.C. See Max Müller, *A.S.L.*, pp. 43, 62. Farquhar, *Crown of Hinduism*, p. 355.

§4. A child's first introduction to the world of things evokes feelings of wonder and amazement, and in its joy of peace and contentment it articulates praise. Even so primitive¹ man, as seen in Hinduism. The *Rig Veda*,² the earliest and the most important of the Vedas, composed at about 1500 B.C. according to Professor Max Müller's chronology, over fifteen centuries after the building of the Great Pyramid of Egypt, at a time when the literature of the Jews remained in the uncrystallized condition of unwritten song and story, presents man in the child's condition of contentment and praise. The *Rig Veda* is a book of praises, hence its name. The ancestor of the modern Hindu living near the banks of the Indus, as is generally supposed,³ or in some Arctic region as an Indian scholar has suggested,⁴ appears to have led a life of luxury and satisfaction, seeing in the manifestations of nature—fire, air, water, thunder, lightning, cloud—powers which he deified.⁵ The hymn to Varuna may be

¹ For the limited sense in which the word 'primitive' is applied to *Rig Vedic* man, see below, ch. iv, § 1.

² The *Rig Veda* is specially dealt with below, in chaps. iii, iv, v, which see as to chronology and other matters.

³ See below, ch. iii, §§ 8, 9.

⁴ Tilak, *The Arctic Home in the Rig Veda*, pp. 453, 454. In Legge's *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* there is reference (ii. 231) to a Russian home of the Aryans, on the authority of Zatrowski's *Les Peuples Aryans d'Asie et d'Europe* (1908), p. 424. In *J.R.A.S.* (1921), p. 127, Prof. Macdonell, in the course of a notice of Mr. N. K. Dutt's book (*The Arctic Home in the Rig Veda: An Untenable Position*, Dacca, 1918) refers thus to the late Mr. Tilak's theory:—'The refutation of so far-fetched a theory presents no great difficulties, but as far as I am aware no Western Vedic scholar has ever thought it worth his while to attempt the task.'

⁵ On *Rig Vedic* religion, see below, ch. iv.

taken as a sample of perhaps the earliest Asiatic praise and prayer :

Sing forth a hymn sublime and solemn, grateful to
glorious Varuna, imperial ruler,
Who hath spread out, as one who slays the victims,
earth as a skin in front of Suriya,
On the tree tops the air he hath extended, put milk in
kine, and vigour and speed in horses,
Set intellect in hearts, fire in the waters, Suriya in
Heaven, and Soma on the mountains.
When Varuna is fain for milk he moistens the sky, the
land and the earth to her foundation,
Then straight the mountains clothe them in the rain
cloud; the horses putting forth their vigour loosen
them.

I will declare the mighty deeds of wonders, of glorious
Varuna the Lord Immortal,
Who, standing in the firmament, hath meted the earth
out with the sun as with a measure.
None verily hath let or hindered this the most wise
God's mighty deeds of wonder,
Whereby with all their floods the loosened rivers fill not
one sea wherein they pour their waters.
If we have sinned against the man who loves us, have
ever wronged a brother, friend or comrade,
The neighbour ever with us, or a stranger, O Varuna,
remove from us the trespass :
If we, as gamesters cheat at play, have cheated, done
wrong unwittingly or sinned of purpose,
Cast all these sins away like loosened fetters, and
Varuna, let us be Thine own beloved.¹

We should hesitate to call them 'heathen,'
who, hundreds of years before Christ, had such
foregleams of God as gave them faith to fear Him,
and to pray to Him for pardon and for peace,

¹ *Rig Veda* v. 85, 1. 2, 4-6.

and to render to Him their sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving.¹

§5. The other Vedas reflect and greatly reproduce the contents of the *Rik*. The *Yajur Veda* is the book of ritual and sacrifices, and it abounds more in prose passages than verse. It was the book of the priesthood, the Hindu *Leviticus*. The third Veda—Manu, the great Hindu Moses, naming only three—is the *Sama Veda*, of the 1,549 verses of which only seventy-eight are not traceable to the *Rik*. It is the book of chant and invocations. A fourth, called *Atharva*, is often counted with the Vedas. It is a book of chants and curses, and is of very late and priestly origin.

§6. From numerous passages in the Vedas, especially the *Rig Veda*, we may gather a fairly accurate account² of the history of man in the Vedic age of Hinduism.

(1) The singers of the hymns were living in some cold country counting their years by winters. In a Vedic prayer the worshipper's measure of life is hundred winters.

(2) They had to fight against a race that had numerous forts and cities, and which appears to have been in the main enslaved³ after conquest, after wars extending over many centuries. The Indus was the real river⁴ of the Vedas, the Ganges being named but twice, and the furthest limit was the Saraswati.⁵

¹ On Vedic consciousness of *personal* sin, as distinguished from tribal, and of sin as different from mere *mistakes in ritual*, see below, ch. iv, § 8.

² The writer has verified the conclusions in Dr. Murdoch's *Account of the Vedas*, p. 23.

³ On the extent of the enslaving of the non-Aryans, see below, ch. vii, §§ 6, 7.

⁴ See below, ch. iii, § 8.

⁵ See below, ch. iii. §§ 8, 9.

(3) There were villages and towns and citadels of iron and stone. The Government was in the hands of Rajahs, chiefs and headmen. The first great distinction of any kind in India between man and man appears to have been that between the conqueror and the conquered, the white and the black,¹ a distinction perpetuated to this day.

(4) Monogamy was the rule. Early marriage was not insisted upon, and widows were free to re-marry. Polygamy and polyandry were, however, not unknown.

(5) In regard to dress it seems clear that the people had advanced considerably beyond the bark and skin-wearing stages of civilization. Cotton and woollen clothes were worn, and women decked themselves with ornaments of gold and silver. The use of thread and needle is well attested.

(6) The Vedic Hindus were owners of cattle by the multitude. One of their frequent prayers is to have abundance of cows. Milk, butter, curds, barley were articles of food. It is curious to note that the Hindus were beef-eaters,² cow-flesh being much in demand. It is written, 'The best food is flesh'. A guest was called *gohana*, cow-eater. Even the dead were supplied with beef. The Vedic Hindus were not abstainers from liquor. Spirits and wines were regularly drunk, leathern bottles being used as among the Jews. This state of things probably lasted till about the year 250 B.C., the date of Asoka's edict against meat-eating.

(7) The pursuits of the people were principally pastoral and agricultural. One is reminded of Abraham and Lot³ and the men of their time, rich in herds and flocks. The Hindus had sheep, goats, cows, buffaloes, horses,

¹ *Varna* (colour) is the word for 'caste' in the *Rig Veda*. See below, chap. vii, § 7. It is doubtful if this colour distinction is correctly inferred from the *Rig Veda*. See Srinivas Iyengar's *Life in Ancient India*, pp. 9-10. See Farquhar, *Crown of Hinduism*, p. 158.

² As to eating horse-flesh, see below, ch. iv, § 13, *ad fin*.

³ Gen. xiii. 5, 6,

camels and oxen. The daughter of the house was milk-maid, the son cattle-keeper. Cups, spoons and metal vessels for eating and drinking were in vogue. Dancing, music and gambling were the best known forms of social diversion. The Vedic Hindu had recourse to warfare mainly for purposes of defence. Chariots of war and boats¹ appear to have been in use.

(8) It is important to note that though the worship of the Vedic Hindu was seemingly polytheistic, there was a solid background of monotheistic belief² behind the reverence and awe felt and expressed for the manifestations of the varied powers of nature. To the Vedic men 'the Heavens declared the glory of God, and the firmament shewed His handiwork.'³ Like David they saw the skies, and saw and, perhaps, heard God there, while tending sheep by day or watching the flocks by night.

(9) Sacrifice has a great place in the Vedas. It is the most conspicuous institution of Vedic Hinduism. The Vedas recognize that 'without shedding of blood there is no remission of sins'.⁴ They offered milk, curds, butter, grain, and the flesh of goats, sheep, cows, buffaloes, horses, and perhaps even sacrificed men.⁵ The instinct of sacrifice was for ever yearning for expression in Vedic man with the same amount of insistence as in the Hebrew: 'Wherewithal shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the High God? Shall I come before Him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams or with tens of

¹ Built largely for river crossing.

² On the theory advanced by the present writer as to Monotheism, see below, ch. iv. §§ 6, 7.

³ Ps. xix. 1.

⁴ Heb. ix. 22. On *Rig Vedic* sacrifices see below, ch. iv, §§ 11-15.

⁵ On doubts about human sacrifice see below, ch. iv, §§ 14, 15. See *The Expositor*, March, 1921, pp. 161-182, for a notice and discussion by Professor G. Buchanan Gray of Professor Ehrenzweig's theory of early human sacrifice. To the works referred to in the article may be added Strack's *The Jew and Human Sacrifice*. See Hastings, *E.R.E.*, *Sacrifice*.

thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul'?¹

The religion of the Vedic age was not content with a merely narrow outlook upon the world. It had immortality in view, and likewise a body of incorruptibility. The worshipper prays:

Place me in that deathless undecaying world,
Wherein the light of Heaven is set and everlasting lustre
shines.

Make me immortal in that realm where they move even
as they list,

Where lucid worlds are full of light.²

Again it is written, 'Leave sin and evil, seek anew thy dwelling, and bright with glory, wear another body.'³ This last is an address to the departing spirit. It is well to note that, like the Egyptians, the Hindus of Vedic times appear to have had a clear and unmistakable conception as to immortality.

§7. To the Hindu the high water mark of revelation is reached in the Vedas. All else is secondary. Of equal authority with the Vedas is the later collection of precepts and invocations grouped under the name of *Brahmanas*. Max Müller ascribes to them the rather late date 800 to 600. B.C. The *Brahmanas*⁴ were attached to the Vedas in the nature of appendices, and classified after them. They formed the exposition of Brahmanic, that is, priestly, ritual and doctrine. Passing from the Vedas

¹ Micah vi. 6. 7.

² *Rig Veda* ix. 113. 7-11. See below, ch. iv, § 16.

³ *Rig Veda* x. 14. 8. That this does *not* imply belief in transmigration is considered below in ch. iv. §§ 16, 17.

⁴ For a summary of principal *Brahmanas*, see Macdonald's *Brahmanas*.

to these later writings one is conscious of the fact that the simple priest-poets of the early age give way to an organized hierarchy of much learning and great power. Psalms and songs addressed to *Rig Vedic* deities slowly disappear from use. The exaltation of ritual and form over the childlike simplicity of Vedic worship gave the priesthood, as the sole expounders and custodians of the *Brahmanas*, an immense hold over the people.¹ A series of supplements to the *Brahmanas* were next composed for the benefit of forest-dwelling devotees. These compositions are known by the name *Aranyakas*. In them we see some advance over the *Brahmanas* in philosophic statement. A mystical meaning was sought to be read into the significance of ceremonies. By deep thinking men became dissatisfied with the dreary prospect of an elaborate ritual, the requirements of which were rigorous and exacting. Many set their hearts upon meditation on the mystery of being, the destiny of man, the nature of God and all those great problems and riddles in respect of which there is not in India to this day unanimity of view or finality of opinion. From the searchings of men after God were evolved those writings called the *Upanishads*.²

§8. *Upanishad*³ implies the setting at rest of all ignorance. The *Upanishads* contain mystic

¹ On the transition from Vedic to later religion, see below, ch. vi, §2.

² Max Müller's *Upanishads* (S.B.E. i. and xv.), Mead's *Upanishads*, 2 vols., Natesan's edition of *Upanishads*, 4 vols., and Hume's *Thirteen Principal Upanishads* are used in the following pages.

³ For meaning see below, ch. viii, § 4 and note.

teaching. They rank as revelation. It is written, 'Brahma told this to Prajapati, Prajapati to Manu, and Manu to all mankind.'¹ The number of the *Upanishads* is about 170, not counting a collection of minor ones which are generally considered to be of doubtful authenticity and of no great value. The principal *Upanishads*, at any rate those much quoted by modern Hindu commentators, are about thirteen in number, and they contain, according to accepted Hindu opinion, the theosophy of the Vedas. A system of philosophy evolved out of them and based on them is the *Vedanta*,² 'the goal of the Vedas'. The *Upanishads* are often referred to as *Rahasya* (the mystery or secret), and this secret was formerly taught to the initiated few. From at least 500 B.C. the *Upanishads* have been read, studied, and meditated upon by small companies of learned and devout men anxiously searching after God, 'if haply they might find Him,'³ and to-day those who read them, and hear them read, each man in his own language, are indeed many. European scholars, Christian and non-Christian alike, have said much in praise of the philosophy of the *Upanishads*, and some have indeed, one cannot help remarking, put an exaggerated value upon the contents of these great books. There is, however, no doubt that closer familiarity with what is written therein, and intimate acquaintance with the meanings sought to be conveyed by these words of the wise, should make Christians realize that, notwithstanding the many incongruities and inconsistencies

¹ *Chandogya Upanishad* 8. 15. 1.

² See below, ch. 8, § 8.

³ Acts xvii. 27.

in the *Upanishads*, apart from the philosophy embodied in these ancient books, there are such sayings of sublime wisdom and beauty as compel admiration. A few may be given in this place by way of examples :

1. The face of truth is hidden by a disc of gold.¹

2. O God Who knoweth all our deeds keep us from crooked evil.²

3. Desire of all He verily is called, as all desirable must He be worshipped.³

4. Rarer than rare, beyond all argument He is. ⁴

5. From the unreal lead me to the Real, from darkness lead me to Light, from death lead me to Immortality.⁵

6. What no word can reveal, what revealeth the word, that know thou as Brahman indeed, not this which they worship below.

What none thinks with the mind, (but) what thinks-out the mind, that know thou as Brahman indeed, not this which they worship below.

What none hears with the ear, whereby hearing is heard, that know thou as Brahman indeed, not this which they worship below.

What none breathes with the breath, whereby breath is in-breathed, that know thou as Brahman indeed, not this which they worship below.⁶

7. He who is ear of ear, the mind of mind, the speech of speech, he too is life of life, the eye of eye.⁷

8. The Self is not attainable by explanation nor yet by mental grasp nor hearing many times ; by him whomso He chooses, by him is He obtained.⁸

¹ *Ishopanishad*, 15.

² *Ibid.*, 18.

³ *Kenopanishad*, iv. 6.

⁴ *Kathopanishad* 1. 2. 9.

⁵ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad* 1. 3. 28.

⁶ *Kenopanishad* i. 4—8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 2.

⁸ *Mundaka Upanishad* iii. 2. 3. See further, ch. viii, § 7 below.

CHAPTER III

HYMNS OF PRAISE

§1. The *Rig Veda* is the earliest and most ancient of Aryan books. It is the first book of Aryan poetry. In it are the beginnings of Aryan seership and Indian religion, and on it are built the claims of every philosophic system that forms Hinduism. The *Rig Veda* is practically the source and inspirer of the other Vedas of the great collection of Hindu Scriptures extant in Sanscrit. It is the fountain-head of Hindu philosophy. To it is the constant appeal of the religious consciousness of India from conflicting decisions of dogma, morals and ceremonial. It, with the other Vedas, is *Sruti*, that is, *direct revelation*. Such a book deserves detached study. Hence this chapter is devoted to it.

§2. What is the *Rig Veda*? It has been observed of all the Vedas :

Their general form is that of lyric poetry. They contain the songs in which the first ancestors of the Hindu people, at the very dawn of their existence as a separate nation, while they were still only on the threshold of the great country which they were afterwards to fill with their civilization, praised the gods, extolled heroic deeds and sung of other matters which kindled their poetical fervour.¹

The *Rig Veda* is a collection (*sanhita*) of hymns (*mantras*) of praise. The word *Rig*, which by itself is *Rik*, is derived from a root which means 'to celebrate'. These hymns are grouped in ten books,

¹ Whitney's *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, vol. i p. 5.

of which the tenth is generally considered to be a late addition to an older collection.¹ Each book (*mandala*) contains more than a hundred sub-sections (*anuvakas*). At an early period systematic indexes to various portions of Vedic literature were prepared, and a very thorough one is that of Katyayana on the *Rig Veda*. It gives the first word of each hymn, the number of verses, the names and family of the poets, the names of the deities and the metre of every verse. As early as about 600 B.C. every verse, word, and syllable had been counted. The index is known as *anukramani*,² and reminds one of the labours of the Hebrew *Sopherim*. The *Rig Veda anukramani* had an elaborate commentary by Shad-gurusishya, who appears to have been gifted with an appreciation of the historical progress of Indian literature. The detailed and careful study of the *Rig Veda* is evidenced by the existence before 600 B.C. of at least five indexes (*anukramanis*). The number of hymns in the *Rig Veda* is 1,017, not counting eleven supplementary ones of doubtful authenticity.

§3. What is the origin of the *Rig Veda*? With the answer to this may also be considered the date. There are many Hindus who to this day adhere to the belief which may be stated in the words of an Indian Judge, a Fellow of the University of Allahabad :

The chief source of our religion, and the basis of the whole of our social fabric, is the *Veda* which all Shastras

¹ Macdonell's *Sanscrit Literature*, p. 43.

² Murdoch's *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. i, p. 8. Max Müller's *Ancient Sanscrit Literature*, p. 215.

declare to be (*anadi*) eternal and (*apaurusheya*) not the work of man but of the Supreme Being Himself. *The same is also the belief of the majority of the Hindus of the present day.*¹

He also adds, with a touch of modernness, that the inspiration claimed for the Vedas is not verbal or literal, but divinity is ascribed to 'the intuition which prompted the *rishis* (sages) to promulgate the Vedas for the benefit of the world'. It is, he says, 'knowledge (*Veda*) that is eternal, and not books, and, as remarked by Patanjali in his *Mahabhashya*, the sense (*artha*) of the Vedas is eternal and not the words.'² The Vedas are said to be what holy *rishis* *saw*, in the same manner, analogously, as the 'Word of the Lord' which a prophet of the Jews *saw* concerning Judah.³ In the Vedas and other books there are texts in support of fourteen different views as to the origin of the four Vedas :—

1. 'From the universal sacrifice [mystical sacrifice of *purusha*] sprang the *Rik* and *Saman* verses ; the metres sprang from it ; from it the *Yajur* arose.'⁴

2. 'Declare who is that *skamba* (sustainer) from whom they cut off the *Rik* verses ; from whom they scraped off the *Yajur* ; of whom the *Saman* verses are the hairs and the verses of the *Atharva* and *Angiras* the mouth.'⁵

3. 'Indra sprung from the *Rik* verses ; the *Rik* verses sprung from him.'⁶

¹ Rai Bahadur Lala Baij Nath, *Hinduism*, p. 13.

² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³ Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. iii, p. 85. In Amos i. 1 ; Isaiah ii. 1 ; Habakkuk i. 1, the term used is *saw*. In other prophets of the Old Testament the usual form is 'The Word *came*'. Cf. Genesis xv. 1.

⁴ *Rig Veda*, x. 90. 9.

⁵ *Atharva Veda*, x. 7. 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xiii. 4. 38.

4. 'From Time the *Rik* verses sprung; the *Yajur* sprung from Time.' ¹

5. 'From the leavings of the sacrifice sprung the *Rik* and *Saman* verses, the metres, the Puranas with the *Yajur*, and all the gods who dwell in the sky.' ²

6. 'Prajapati [Lord of all Creation] infused warmth into the worlds, and from them so heated he drew forth their essences, namely, Agni (fire) from the earth, Vayu (wind) from the air, and Surya (sun) from the sky. He infused warmth into these three deities, and from them so heated he drew forth their essences—from Agni the *Rik* verses, from Vayu the *Yajur* verses, and from Surya the *Saman* verses.' ³

7. 'As from a fire made of moist wood various modifications of smoke proceed, so is the breathing of this Great Being the *Rig Veda*, the *Yajur Veda*, the *Sama Veda*, etc.' ⁴

8. 'Mind is the ocean. From the mind-ocean with speech for a shovel the gods dug out the triple Vedic science.' ⁵

9. 'The Vedas are the hair of Prajapati's beard.' ⁶

10. 'Vach (speech) is an imperishable thing and the first-born of ceremonial, the mother of the Vedas, and the centre-point of immortality. Delighting in us she came to the sacrifice. May the protecting goddess be ready to listen to my invocation—she whom the wise rishis, the composers of hymns, the gods, sought by austere fervour and by laborious devotion.' ⁷

11. 'Once the Vedas sprung from the four-faced Creator. . . He formed from his mouths the *Rik*, *Yajur*,

¹ *Atharva Veda*, xix. 54. 3.

² *Ibid.*, xi. 7. 24.

³ *Chandogya Upanishad*, iv. 17. 1. 2. So also *Manava Dharma Sastra*, i. 26. 23.

⁴ *Satapatha Brahmana*, xiv. 5. 4. 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vii. 5. 2. 52.

⁶ *Taittiriya Brahmana*, iii. 39. 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii. 8. 85.

Saman and *Atharvan* together with praise, sacrifice, hymn and expiation.' ¹

12. 'Brahma created the Gayatri [a prayer of three lines], mother of the Vedas, and also the four Vedas which sprung from the Gayatri.' ²

13. 'Behold, Sarasvati, mother of the Vedas, abiding in me.' ³

14. 'He [Vishnu] is composed of the *Rik*, of the *Saman*, of the *Yajur*.' ⁴

§4. It is well to note in connection with the above extracts, thirteen from post-*Rik* writings of Hinduism that :

1. They are all from sources long posterior to the *Rig Veda* collection, and indicate a period of speculation as to the beginnings of the first Veda. The tenth book of the *Rig Veda*, as already mentioned, ⁵ may be safely regarded no real part of it.

2. Such speculations must have arisen after the hymns had been collected and grouped under four distinct headings, *Rik*, *Saman*, *Yajur* and *Atharva*.

3. Such speculations could not have arisen in the case of writings of recent making, composition or collection. Between the books and the speculations considerable time must have elapsed. This is accentuated by the variety of theories.

4. The bulk of the speculations is traceable to the latest of the Vedas, one, for centuries, perhaps, not known as a Veda. Except in the latest of these speculations the reference is to three Vedas.

5. Through all this diversity of guesses there is a discernible unity of thought disguised in figures and characteristic exaggeration. *That thought is that the Vedas had their origin in divine inspiration.* This is

¹ *Bhagavata Purana*, iii. 12. 34. 37 ; *Vishnu Purana*, i. 5. 48.

² *Harivamsa*, 11. 516.

³ *Mahābhārata*, *Santiparva*, 12. 920.

⁴ *Vishnu Purana*, iii. 3. 19.

See above, § 2.

expressed in terms of uncouth anthropomorphism. The seventh extract given in the last section comes as near as possible to the statement of direct inspiration—the Hindu Bible is the breathing of the Great Brahma.

6. The figurativeness of expression is obvious in such concepts as 'mind-ocean' (*manasa samudra*), 'shovel of speech' (*vach charya*), 'breathing' (*misvasitam*), and 'sarasvati' (wisdom), mother of the Vedas.

7. Long after the compilation and collection of the hymns of the *Rig Veda* attempts were made, particularly by the composers of the *Aiharva Veda*, to obscure the human element in the composition of the books, and to establish, by various devices, indexed by the various turns of expression above instanced (§ 3), the divine authorship of those hymns.

§5. In a writing¹ of post-Vedic times the *rishis* (sages) are spoken of as 'the composers of hymns'. The *Rig Veda* itself has express references to the composition of the hymns by individual rishis. 'The Kanvas *make* a prayer to you; hear well their invocation.'² The word rendered 'make' *krina-vanti*, is a part of *kri*, which means 'to do, to make, to manufacture, prepare, work at, build, construct, compose'. It may be noted too that the word rendered 'prayer' is *brahma*, a term in some places applicable to new hymns³ as in *Rig Veda*, iv. 16. 21; v. 29. 15; vi. 17. 13; vi. 50. 6; vii. 61. 6; x. 89. 3. The term also occurs in contexts where the poets are said to have fashioned or generated hymns.⁴ The consciousness of the human side of

¹ *Taittiriya Brahmana*, ii. 8. 8. 5.

² *Rig Veda*, i. 47. 2. Griffith translates, 'send the prayer'.

³ Sir William Muir in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (N. S.), vol. ii, p. 259.

⁴ *Rig Veda*, i. 47. 2; i. 62. 13; v. 73. 10; vii. 22. 9; vii. 31. 11; x. 80. 7.

authorship, with no stress laid on any Divine aid or inspiration, is noticeable in such verses as these where parts of the verb *kri* are employed to denote the fact and act of composition :

1. ' Thus, O Indra, have the Gotamas *made* hymns for thee efficaciously.' ¹

2. ' These magnifying prayers, this (hymn) the Griteamadas have *made* for you.' ²

3. ' An acceptable and powerful hymn has been *uttered* (avachi) to Indra by Vrihaduktha (*brahmakrito*), a maker of hymns.' ³

There are hymns where the words for the act of composition are parts of the verbs *taksh* and *jan*. *Taksh* means to form by cutting or with the plane or chisel, out of wood, and the noun from it is *takshan* (Sanskrit for 'carpenter,' appearing in Tamil as *tachan* with the same meaning). Does the use of this word by the hymn-makers suggest that *material already existing* was being made use of in acts of re-fashioning, revising and polishing ?

4. ' Nodhas of the family of Gotama fashioned (*atakshad*) this new hymn (*brahma*) for Indra.' ⁴

5. ' I, a sage, have made this hymn as a skilled artificer makes a chariot.' ⁵

The word *jan* means 'to generate,' 'to beget.' Later tradition has given this word the significance of being an index of *inspiration*. Is it used with such express distinguishing as to suggest from its

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 61. 16.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 39. 8.

³ *Ibid.*, x. 54. 6. In 'Maker of hymns' (*brahmakrito*) we have the two words 'hymn' (*brahma*) and 'maker' (*krito*) combined. He was apparently a well-known and habitual 'hymn-maker,' hence his being named. This verse is in the *tenth* book, and the use of the word 'hymn-maker' suggests that in earlier times 'hymn-making' was well known.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 62. 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 2. 11.

use that old hymns are not re-fashioned but new ideas have been by inspiration put into the poet's mind and he has begotten the hymn thereout?

6. 'I have generated (*jijanam*) a new hymn (*navam stoman*) to Agni.'¹

7. 'The sages generated (*janayanta*) a prayer (*brahma*) for Indra.'²

§6. It is one thing to say that the *Rig Veda* is an inspired book, and quite another to assert that the book contains claims to, and implications of, inspiration. Christian scholars³ are prone to lay so much stress on the human authorship of the hymns of the *Rig Veda* as to exclude from consideration the claims and implications which will be presently examined. The *Rig Veda* no doubt affords numerous instances suggestive of elaborate efforts at the production of hymns. Here is a typical passage, 'Let us, with our intellect, construct, like as a chariot is constructed, this hymn!'⁴ Such a passage undoubtedly contrasts very unfavourably with the familiar Hebrew declaration, 'The Word of the Lord came,'⁵ or 'The hand of the Lord was upon him,'⁶ or yet, 'God spake these words and said.'⁷ At the same time a survey of the *Rig Veda* affords clear proof of two facts—the authors of the 'hymns, holy words, richas, songs and eulogies,'⁸

¹ *Rig Veda*, vii. 15. 4.

² *Ibid.*, vii. 31. 11.

³ E.g., Clayton, *Rig Veda*, 248. Muir, S.T., iii. pp. 128-140.

⁴ *Rig Veda*, i. 94. 1.

⁵ Gen. xv. 1; 2 Sam. vii. 4; Isa. xxxviii. 4; Jer. i. 2, 13; Ezek. i. 3; vi. 1; Dan. ix. 2; Hos. i. 1; Hag. i. 1.

⁶ Ezek. i. 3, viii. 1.

⁷ Ex. xx. 1.

⁸ *Rig Veda*, x. 91. 12.

had present in their minds the idea of Divine inspiration, and many of them expressly declared their belief in such an idea. Here are some texts justifying the above assertions :

1. Call hither with thy newest song Indra . . . *insp-
irer* of the sage.¹

2. Ye who inspire all songs.²

3. Answer thou our song, sing in approval, make our prayers succeed.³

4. Do thou *inspire* our song of praise that we may win the spoil.⁴

5. Purify this prayer of ours.⁵

6. Favour our songs, wake up our thoughts and spirit.⁶

7. These deathless ones have granted us this laud of ours.⁷

8. What plenty fills the songs which thou *inspirest* now ?⁸

9. I yoke with prayer your ancient *inspiration*.⁹

10. Agni, *song-insp-irer*.¹⁰

11. *Song-insp-iring* Pushan.¹¹

12. Thought-bestower, *hymn-insp-irer*.¹²

13. Thought-inspiring gods.¹³

14. He illumines us. ¹⁴

15. Whose son shall speak words that must be spoken without the assistance of the Father near him ? ¹⁵

16. He stirs with the tongue.¹⁶

17. Disclose his thoughts for him who singeth
vouchsafe to us that powerful hymn thou lovest.¹⁷

¹ *Rig Veda*, viii, Valak. 3. 3.

² *Ibid.*, vi. 69. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 10. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 77. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ix. 67. 23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vii. 97. 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vii. 97. 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, viii. 73. 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, x. 13. 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, x. 46. 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, ix. 88. 3 ; vi. 58. 2 ;
x. 26. 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, vii. 13. 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*, vii. 2. 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vi. 10. 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, vi. 9. 2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 48. 5.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, iv. 11. 2.

18. From Thee springs poetic wisdom, from Thee come thought and hymns that prosper.¹

19. Agni who knows the lofty hymn . . hath declared me this hidden knowledge.²

20. These holy songs He taught the bard who praised Him.³

21. The *song-inspiring* Indra.⁴

22. Give power to these my prayers.⁵

23. From Thee, Agni, springs the mighty singer.⁶

24. [Agni] the Singer.⁷

25. They generated prayer.⁸

26. Quicken the holy hymns we are singing now.⁹

27. Within my mouth deposit speech lucid and vigorous.¹⁰

28. Within thy lips will I [a god] put brilliant language.¹¹

29. To Indra Soma flows engendering song.¹²

30. Our tongue, when we behold the Soma, stirs itself.¹³

31. Singer of true songs, ever-watchful Soma.¹⁴

32. He, Soma, the Purifier, hath stirred the wave of voice, our songs and praises.¹⁵

Even if we disregard the quotations from the Ninth Book as capable of the explanation of physical or intellectual stimulus under the exhilarating effects of the much-praised beverage, *soma*, we cannot escape

¹ *Rig Veda*, iv. 11. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, x. 65. 11.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 5. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, x. 66. 12.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 34. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, x. 98. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ix. 97. 49 ; i. 3. 11.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, x. 98. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vii. 1. 25.

¹² *Ibid.*, ix. 25. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vi. 7. 3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, i. 87. 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 44. 5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ix. 97. 37.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, ix. 96. 7. Compare also *Rig Veda* i. 26. 2 ; vi. 51. 6 ; vi. 47. 10 ; i. 175. 4. 6 ; iii. 62. 8. 10 ; x. 61. 7 ; x. 81. 7. The reference in iii. 62. 10 is to the *Gayatri*, a daily-recited invoking of aid to pray aright, and the later tradition, see above §3 (12), that 'The *Gayatri* is the mother of the Vedas' is perhaps an exaggerated and abstruse way of stating that the Vedas are prayer-born, the hymns had been prayed for.

the impression of the Soma passages of a consciousness in the Vedic singer's mind of the bare idea of Divine inspiration. A study of the other texts, twenty-eight, leaving four for Soma, heightens the impression. It does more. It suggests to us that—

1. The Vedic singers had ideas of inspiration.
2. They attributed inspiration to particular gods, Agni, Indra, Vishnu, Varuna, Brihaspati, and generally to all gods.
3. They even went further to describe the god himself as the singer, e.g., Agni.

The quotations from the Tenth Book—generally believed to belong to a late stage of Vedic culture—are quite consistent with the tenor of the texts cited from the earlier books. One is not surprised that the Vedic mind, progressing along lines of illumination through the successive strata of thought from the earliest to the latest books of the *Rig Veda*, was able to evolve that fine prayer for something far out-distancing inspiration to song,—‘O Faith, endow us with belief,’¹ and ‘O Faith, bless thou the word that I have said.’² The claim of the Vedic hymns to inspiration is very high, though not high enough to reach the loftiness of the Biblical assertion, ‘Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit.’³

¹ *Rig Veda*, x. 151. 5.

² *Ibid.*, x. 151. 2. The compiler or arranger of the hymns of the *Rig Veda* seems to have drawn a distinction between canonical and other hymns. ‘No *rik*, *yajush* or *saman* verse is ever spoken of as *gatha*, for it is a term which implies human authorship, an idea unhesitatingly rejected in the case of canonical hymns. *Pragatha* signifies (Book viii) that the hymns occupy an intermediate position between *gatha* by human authors, and the *revealed* verses of the *rishis*.’ [Pincott *J.R.A.S.* (N.S.), vol. xvi, p. 386.]

³ 2 Pt. i. 21.

§7. The hymns in the *Rig Veda* collection are not all of one age of composition. This is a factor in the consideration of the human element. It helps towards dispelling the exaggeration of the *eternity* of the Vedas, a claim which, by its stupendous unhistoricity, has done much to obscure the plea for a share of the *Rig Veda* in the catholicity of Divine association, 'God has not left Himself without a witness.'¹ Among references to hymns *old* and *new* may be cited the following:—

1. 'Glorified by our newest hymn.'²
2. 'We invoke with an ancient hymn.'³
3. 'The ancient and modern hymns of lauding rishis.'⁴
4. 'Drive hither the cow with a *new* hymn.'⁵
5. 'Our *newest, most recent* hymn.'⁶
6. 'I present a newer, mightier hymn.'

The hymns of the *Rig Veda* were composed by successive generations of poets during a period of many centuries.⁸

Some hundreds of years must have been needed for all hymns found in the *Rig Veda* to come into being. There was also, doubtless, after the separation of the Indians from the Iranians, an intermediate period, though it was probably of no great length. In this transitional age must have been composed *the more ancient hymns which are*

¹ Acts xvi. 17. From God 'all holy desires, all just counsels proceed'. (P.B.)

² *Rig Veda*, i. 12. 11. 'All such hymns I refer to the Mantra period to an age which, though chiefly occupied in collecting and arranging, possesses likewise the power of imitating and carrying the traditions of a former age.' (Max Müller, *A.S.L.*, p. 480. See pp. 483, 484, 493, 494, 570, 571 for some tests of 'newness' of origin).

³ *Ibid.*, i. 89. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vi. 48. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vi. 44. 13.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ix. 9. 8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 143. 1. Cf. viii. 84. 5; vi. 68. 9; viii. 41. 2; ix. 9. 8.

⁸ Mûir, *J.R.A.S. (N.S.)*, vol. i, p. 53.

lost, and in which the style of the earliest preserved hymns, already composed with much skill, was developed. The poets of the *older part* of the *Rig Veda* themselves mention predecessors in whose wise they sing, whose songs they desire to renew, and speak of ancestral hymns produced in days of yore.¹

Each book of the *Rig Veda* is known as a *mandala* and the *mandalas* are 'family books'.

Each of these is the work of a different seer or his descendants according to the ancient tradition, which is borne out by internal evidence. They were doubtless long handed down separately in the families to which they owed their being.²

It has been conjectured³ that the compilation of the hymns was somewhat as follows :—

1. When a poet's hymn, a prayer for temporal favour was associated with a response, as a victory in battle⁴ for instance, he and his hymn became renowned. His hymn was a *mantra*.

2. Such hymns were remembered and chanted on similar or other occasions by the poet or his disciples or descendants, and perhaps came to be recited on a recurring occasion, e.g. a sacrifice. They became part of a ritual.

3. The more notable of them were thus handed down by the descendants of the original poet and preserved in the families that grew to be the great priestly families of later ages.

4. These hymns were then gradually brought into one great collection.

For a long period of time, measurable it may be by centuries, these hymns remained unwritten.

¹ Macdonell, *Sanscrit Literature*, p. 45.

² *Ibid.*, p. 41. On the arrangement of the *Rig Veda*, see below, § 12.

³ Clayton's *Rig Veda*, p. 40.

⁴ 'Indra preserved Sudras in the battle of the ten kings through your hymns,' *Rig Veda*, vii. 33. 3.

The preservation of the *Rig Veda* in oral tradition and pious memory from a very remote antiquity is one of the marvels of the history of religious literature paralleled, perhaps, only by the pre-Masoretic preservation of the text of the Old Testament.

The *Rig Veda* is a work of surpassing interest. While in the strict sense it is not true to say that the religion and the civilization which gave birth to the hymns are primitive, it is true that no other people has bequeathed to us a body of lofty literature representing such an early stage in the development of civilization. Clearly the people who created the *Rik* were a race of remarkable gifts. The high qualities which produced these hymns are as conspicuously revealed to us in the character of their language. While ancient Sanscrit is one of the great group of Aryan languages, all of which show many common features, yet it is the only member of the family which has preserved its words in such form as to make their origin quite plain to the philologist. The linguistic consciousness of the people who developed Sanscrit must have been delicate and analytic far above the average.¹

Even those hymns which, upon internal evidence, and by the tests proposed by Sanscrit scholars, are called 'modern,' that is, are 'new,' being of later origin than the oldest, are of great antiquity. The sifting according to degrees of ancientness is not an easy task in respect to the literature of an age which had no stone inscription, no metal records, no monument, and no word for 'writing'. The utmost that could be said with confidence of the age of the earliest hymns has been aptly said by one of

¹ Farquhar, *Crown of Hinduism*, p. 69. Max Müller (*A.S.L.*, p. 526) says, 'Ages must have passed before the grammatical texture of the Vedic Sanscrit could have assumed the consistency and regularity which it shows throughout.'

the greatest of early Oriental scholars in these words :—

. . . Some earlier age which gave birth to the poetry of the early *rishis*. . . There was a time when the poet was the leader, the king, the priest of his family or tribe, when his songs and sayings were listened to in anxious silence and with implicit faith, when his prayers were repeated by crowds who looked up to their kings and priests, their leaders and judges, as men nobler, wiser than the rest, as beings nearer to the gods in proportion as they were raised above the common level of mankind. These men themselves living a life of perfect freedom, speaking a language not yet broken by literary usage, and thinking thoughts unfettered as yet by traditional claims, were at once teachers, law-givers, poets and priests.¹

§ 8. It is generally considered that Aryans, separating themselves from their Persian brethren, had marched from the north-west, their route leading them from the Oxus by way of the open passes of the line of Herat and the fertile valleys of the Arachosia, from which the Vedic tribes seemed to have been forced by the pressure downward of succeeding Iranian branches of the family—upwards into the narrow gorges of the Kabul valley and more easily through the Kurrum and Gomal passes into India.² Quoting from a late section³ of the *Rig Veda*, Mr. Thomas observes :

It places before us, simultaneously, the reminiscences, seemingly recent, of the leading streams⁴ of the Kabul valley and the more direct Indian approaches by the

¹ Max Müller, *A.S.L.*, pp. 525-6.

² Edward Thomas, F.R.S., in *J.R.A.S.* (N.S.), vol. xv. p. 359.

³ *Rig Veda*, x. 75.

⁴ Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. ii, has a list of thirty-one rivers mentioned in *Rig Veda* x. chiefly.

Kurru and Gomāl. *It indicates entire oblivion of any earlier habitat and makes no reference to the successive waves or ruling motives which carried these pastoral tribes on to their ultimate destination on the banks of the Saraswati, where they effectually changed their nature, submitted to the influence of prior civilizations, accepted the aid of amanuenses for their unwritten hymns, and finally merged their still vague faith into a compromise with Brahmanism.*¹

Dr. Grierson, on the place and the language of the composition of the hymns of the *Rig Veda*, speaks of :—

The particular vernacular dialect spoken in the east of the Punjab and in the upper portion of the Gangetic Doab where the *Rig Veda* was compiled [*not composed*]. The tribe which spoke this dialect spread east and south, and their habitat, as so extended, between the Punjab and the modern Allahabad, and reaching from the Himalayas to the Vindaya Hills on the south, became known to Sanscrit geographers as *Maddhyadesa* (midland) and also as *Aryavarta* (the home of the Aryans). The language spoken there received constant literary culture, and a refined form of its archaic dialect became fixed by the labours of grammarians about 300 B.C. as *Samaskrit* (pure).²

A modern Sanscrit scholar has these remarks :—

In the dim twilight preceding the dawn of Indian literature the historical imagination can perceive the forms of Aryan warriors, the first Western conquerors of Hindustan, issuing from those passes in the North-West through which the tide of invasion has in successive ages rolled to sweep over the plains of India. The earliest poetry of this invading race, whose language and culture overspread the whole continent, *was composed* while its tribes still occupied the territories on both sides of the Indus now

¹ *J.R.A.S.* (N.S.), vol. xv, p. 359.

² *Encyclopædia Britannica*, (11th edition), vol. xiv, p. 487.

known as Eastern Kabulistan and the Punjab. That ancient poetry has come down to us in the form of a collection of hymns called the *Rig Veda*.¹

Among the earliest opinions on the origin of the *Rig Veda* hymns is Sir William Muir's :

The hymns of the *Rig Veda* themselves supply us with numerous data by which we can judge of the circumstances to which they owed their origin, and of the manner in which they were created. They afford us very distinct indications of the locality in which they were composed. The Indus is the great river ; the Ganges is only twice mentioned ; the Saraswati was the eastern boundary.²

§9. The question of the *composition* of the hymns of the *Rig Veda* is distinct from that of their *collection*. Where were the hymns composed ? When were they composed ? The answers to these enquiries are matters very largely of speculation. The dearth of sufficient historical data embarrasses the pursuit of even probabilities, and hence the difficulty experienced by oriental scholarship to pledge itself to anything positive. There has always been diffidence except with those who propound literary extravagances.

In the previous section reference was made to a few place-indications. As far back as 1855 a French orientalist, M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, drew attention to the river-names in the *Rig Veda* as affording material for the location of the composition of the hymns.³ Dr. Thomas, in the wake of the French

¹ Macdonell, *Sanscrit Literature*, p. 40. See also pp. 138, 145. He agrees (p. 145) with Professor Hopkins (*J. Am. Or. Soc.*, 1898, p. 19) that the older hymns were composed in the Punjab, and the others near the Saraswati.

² Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, vol. iii, p. 217.

³ *Etude sur la géographie et les populations primitives du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde, d'après les Hymnes Vediques.*

savant, concludes his study of the river-names in the *Nadistuti* (river-praise) book, the tenth of the *Rig Veda*, with these views :

The world's limits, as known to the Vedic Aryans, have been epitomized above from their own sacred texts.

It will be seen that *they claimed no earlier state of existence than that* bounded to the north by a corner by the Hindu Kush on one part, and the proximate west bank of the Indus on the other. They have no tales to tell of residence in other lands. *Their hymns commence, locally within the above boundaries*, and so to say *intern* themselves on the banks of the Indian Saraswati, in which already holy place so many of their assumed revelations were made manifest, and *where, clearly, some of their chants were for the first time reduced to writing*. The indirect confession of a new pied-a-terre, from which to operate, near the banks of the Jumna, *to a certain extent disposes of the notion that the Vedic Aryans composed their extant songs in any ancient home on or near the Oxus*. They no doubt retained to the last much of their primitive speech and many of the conventional phrases and invocations of the older days of a pure nature worship.¹

The generally accepted opinion as to scene of the Vedic Aryan activities is—

The chief settlements of the Aryans in India were in the neighbourhood of the Sindu, the modern Indus . . . and it is clear that before they crossed the Jamuna, the modern Jumna, and made their way to the Ganges, the Aryans dwelt mainly in East Kabulistan and the Punjab. The Saraswati (modern Sutlej) was their southern boundary during that period.²

¹ *J.R.A.S.* (N.S.), xv. 378. Sir Aurel Stein writes on the modern location of some of the rivers in *Rig Veda*, x. 5 in *J.R.A.S.*, January, 1917, p. 91. On the earliest date of writing in India, see Max Muller, *A.S.L.*, p. 497, and R.H. Cust in *J.R.A.S.* (N.S.), xvi. 327, 336; Macdonell, p. 14; Dawson, *J.R.A.S.*, 1881, p. 102.

² Clayton, *Rig Veda*, p. 4.

On the subject of rivers, Dr. Thomas¹ notes that the Vedic Aryans had, to judge by their hymns, seemingly vivid reminiscences of the streams of the Kabul Basin, and that their final home and vanishing point was on the banks of the Indian Saraswati, 'chief and purest of rivers flowing from the mountains to the ocean'.²

A most vital question, suggests Dr. Thomas, in the course of his river inquiries, is—

As to how and why the Vedic Aryans came to recognize as sacred precincts a corner of the world so far removed from their ancient traditions as their ultimate refuge on the banks of the Saraswati—a site which in its physical conformation was likely to have presented so few attractions to a pastoral people, or to the eye of a river-worshipper, so shadowy an impression, after the grand waters the intruding Aryans had left behind them.³

Why did the Vedic Aryans magnify the poor stream, Saraswati? Dr. Thomas finds in the glorification of the Indian Saraswati an unacknowledged sentiment of the revival of a bygone Saraswati on the banks of the Helmand of the Afghans. The Vedic Aryans in their new home had revived and retained a remembrance of their original and more famous river, as in the repetitions of the *sacred sevens* in the region of (not seven but) 'Five-Rivers' in India.⁴ This is, of course, conjecture. It is entitled to weight, at least calls for explanation, by the side of the phenomenon of the echoes in Vedic times of a pre-Vedic state of thought evidenced by such parallel or other relationship as has been found

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, (N.S.), xv. 363.

² *Rig Veda*, iv. 189.

³ *J.R.A.S.*, (N.S.), xv. 364.

⁴ *J.R.A.S.*, xv. pp. 372, 382.

between Ahura-Mazda (Persian) and Varuna¹; Ahura-Mazdao (Persian) and Asuro-Medhas²; Yima (Persian) and Yama³; Mithra (Persian) and Mitra³; Haoma (Persian) and Soma³; Ahura-Mazda (Persian) and Asura Varuna⁴; Ahura-Mazda (Persian) and Asura-Maya.⁵ It is, therefore, only in a restricted sense that it can be said ⁶ that the Vedic Aryans 'are oblivious of an earlier habitat'. There is greater truth in the assertion that 'the Hindoos alone of all the Aryan-speaking peoples seem to have preserved some *recollection* of having been foreign settlers in the country of their adoption.'⁷ In an interesting essay, published in 1901, Mr. Venkata Ratnam of Madras suggests, more than establishes, a Hebrew origin for the Vedic Aryans, but he does not touch on the silence in the *Rig Veda* as to those great Jewish truths and tenets enshrined in the Old Testament and in the non-inspired literature of the Hebrews. If the Vedic Aryans were Israelites there should be something more than casual and explicable points of contact

¹ Whitney, *J. Amer. Or. Society*, iii. 327.

² Max Müller, *Science of Language*, p. 195.

³ Macdonell, *Sanscrit Literature*, p. 67. See *Rig Veda*, x. 43. 6. Aramati=Zend *Speria-Armaiti*. Mitra and Varuna were gods of the Hitittes (Legge's *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, ii. 232). Mr. Srinivas Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India*, pp. 109, 119, allows only two gods, Dyaus and Mitra, to be of non-Indian origin.

⁴ Farquhar, *Crown of Hinduism*, p. 67; Macdonell, *Brahmanas of the Vedas*, p. 35.

⁵ Spooner, *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, pp. 78, 89. So eminent a scholar as Professor A. B. Keith, whose authority may not be lightly ignored, refers to an inscription of Assur-bani-pal to show that Azur-Mazdah is older than Zoroaster, (*J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 798). See also Plunket, *Ancient Calendars*, Part i ch. iv.

⁶ E.g. by Dr. Thomas, *J.R.A.S. (N.S.)*, xv. 359.

⁷ J. M. Kennedy, *Religions and Philosophies of the East*, p. 13.

between the Old Testament and the *Rig Veda*, whichever may be older than the other.

It is one of the assumptions of scholarship that the Vedic Aryans came into India from somewhere, though the *Rig Veda* itself affords no proof in support of it. The hymns may be reminiscent of other times and other ideas: they show no indication however, of a home, Jewish or other, the writers had left behind. The utter absence of references, with regretful longings or otherwise, to an occupied and occupyable land, their former abode, may have induced Mr. Tilak to propound the theory that the original habitat of the Vedic Aryans was the North Pole and that some glacial catastrophe had driven them to sunnier regions where they began to forget their ice-bound past.¹ Be this as it may, Tilak and all other scholars, Indian and European, are agreed on believing in the fact of an Aryan migration into India. It were a heresy, a belated one, to think the contrary. There have, however, been differences of opinion as to whether there was more than one migration and as to the point or points at which the Aryans effected their passage into India.

The generally prevalent view of the passage of the Aryans into India from the North-West has, in recent years, been questioned by Mr. F. E. Pargiter on the strength of Kshattriya tradition.

Indian tradition knows nothing of any Aryan invasion of India from the North-West, nor of any gradual advance of the Aryans from thence eastwards. It makes the Aryan

¹ *The Arctic Home in the Rig Veda*, pp. 453-4. See above ch. ii, § 4, the last note.

power begin at Allahabad . . . yet tradition does not say that Ailas or Aryans originated in India, but distinctly suggests they came from outside. . . The middle region in and beyond the Himalayas has always been the sacred and ancient land of the Indians. The North-West frontier had no ancient associations or memories, and never had any sanctity.¹

Professor Keith examines the Kshattriya tradition and upholds the Brahmanic.

The theory of the entry of the Vedic Indians from the far North beyond the middle Himalayan region receives no Vedic support. The theory that they came through Afghanistan is rendered probable by the undeniable Vedic mention of the rivers of that region, by the prominence of the rivers of the Punjab and by the fact that the *Rig Veda* itself shows a limited knowledge of the more eastern parts of the country.²

That the Vedic hymns afford proof of different inroads of Aryan invaders is maintained by Dr. Hoernle and by Prof. Hillebrandt.³ Sir George Grierson declares his adherence⁴ in 1917 to his earlier hypothesis, it being considered immaterial 'whether we are to look upon the state of affairs as two invasions, or as the earlier and later invasions of a series extending over a long period of time.'⁵ A Bengali scholar, Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda,

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 291-2. On the non-importance of the North-West in the Vedas he refers to passages collected in Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, ii. 323-39. On *Ila*, there is a note by Professor Keith in *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 412, written before Mr. Pargiter's article.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 736-7. Mr. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar (*Life in Ancient India*, p. 14) refers to the invasion as a 'theory invented to account for the existence of an Indo-Germanic language in North India,' and as a 'theoretical event'.

³ Hillebrandt's *Vedische Mythologie*, p. 110, noted in *J.R.A.S.*, 1917, p. 400.

⁴ *J.R.A.S.*, 1917, p. 401.

⁵ *Languages of India*, p. 120.

accepts Sir George Grierson's opinion in a modified form.¹

§10. Vedic chronology is altogether conjectural.² From the point of view of Western scholarship, and Professor Macdonell is an eminent representative of it, Sanscrit literature suffers from an entire absence of exact chronology.³ The dates of Sanscrit authors, the same high authority states, are in the vast majority of cases only known approximately having been inferred from the indirect evidence of interdependence, quotation or allusion, development of language or style. On the other hand, what Mr. Baij Nath says of Hindu chronology is typical of the scholarship of the conservative school of Indian critical thought.

One *manavantara* of Hindu chronology consists of 306,720,000 years, and if we multiply this by fourteen we get a day of Brahma. This is the Shastric idea of time. . . . To those who look upon the world as only 6,000 years old this attitude may appear unhistorical, but if we take the various *yugas* (æons, ages) as representing distinctive stages of progress in the history of society, there should not be much room for argument . . . We cannot say that Hinduism has no history. It cannot give the exact date of the siege of Lanka and the battle of Kurukshetra . . . nor of the compilation of the Vedas . . . But each stage of its civilization is well marked, and there is no difficulty in tracing the origin and growth of its institutions from age to age . . . Indian history is not a history of wars and conquests but of progress in literature and philosophy . . . The Hindu idea of history was not one of a mere

¹ *Indo-Aryan Races*. Prof. Keith in *J.R.A.S.*, 1917, p. 171, shows himself strenuously opposed to 'the two-invasion hypothesis'.

² Macdonell, *S.L.*, p. 11.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

record of dates of important events but to preserve the teachings and the memory of those who made India what it was.¹

The ages or *yugas* into which all time on earth is divided are four, *Krita*, *Trita*, *Dwapara* and *Kali*. In the first, salvation has to be by *Asceticism*; in the second, by *Truth*; in the third, by *Sacrifice*; and in the fourth, by *Charity*. Mr. Baij Nath thinks that the *Rig Veda* and the older *Upanishads* belong to the first two ages; the *Ramayana* to the second; the *Mahabharata* to the close of the third age.² If sacrifice is the redeeming virtue of the *Dwapara* age, then the prominence given to sacrifice in the *Rig Veda* should claim it for that age. It is well, at all times, to remember that 'the huge periods of time known as *yugas* and *manavantaras* in Puranic Hinduism were unknown to the Vedic Rishis.'³

§11. Oriental scholars, says Max Muller, are frequently suspected of a desire to make the literature of the eastern nations appear more ancient than it is.⁴ The materials, however, for fixing accurate limits are so scanty that, as will be presently seen in the case of the Vedic Age, the boundary-points shift with individual judgment:

1. 10000 or 8000 B.C., disruption of Arctic home of the Aryans.

¹ *Hinduism*, pp. 8, 10, 11. With the expression 'Day of Brahma' may be compared what Mr. E. W. Maunder, the astronomer, says on Genesis i. (*J.T.V.I.*, xlv. 133), 'the seven days of creation are not seven days of man but seven *days of God* . . . The days of man are faint types or images of the *days of God*.'

² *Hinduism*, pp. 8, 9, 10. *Mahabharata*, *Bhishma Parva*, c. 10; *Vana Parva*, c. 190; Manu, i. 64-86. On *Yugas* see Underhill's *Hindu Religious Year*, pp. 13, 14, 29.

³ Macdonald, *Brahmanas of the Vedas*, p. 149.

⁴ *A.S.L.*, p. 571.

8000-5000 B.C., wanderings in Europe and Asia.

5000-3000 B.C., composition of some of the Vedic hymns.¹

2. Vedic Age coeval with early Egyptian civilization from 3896 B.C.²

3. *Rig Veda*, of same age as Great Pyramids (3430 B.C.).³

4. 4000 B.C., least point of age-limit of Vedas.⁴

5. Origin of Aryans 60,000 years ago. 3000 B.C., Vedic hymns in writing.⁵

6. 3000 B.C., *Rig Veda* hymns in existence.⁶

7. 2780-1820 B.C., Vedic Age.⁷

8. 2400 B.C., commencement of Vedic literature.⁸

9. 2000 B.C., beginnings of Vedic literature.⁹

10. 1580 B.C., date of *second Veda*.¹⁰

11. 1400 B.C., *collection* of hymns.¹¹

12. 1700-1100 B.C., Vedic age according to Kshattriya tradition.¹²

13. 1500 B.C., compilation of *Rig Veda*.¹³

14. 1200-800 B.C., *Rig Veda* hymns period.¹⁴

15. 1000-800 B.C., *Rig Veda* hymns.¹⁵

¹ Tilak, *Arctic Home in the Rig Veda*, pp. 453-4.

² Curzon, *J.R.A.S.*, (O.S.) xvi. 178.

³ Langlois, *Rig Veda*, Introduction, p. 1.

⁴ Professor Jacob of Bonn, criticized by Macdonell, *S.L.*, p.12.

⁵ Kennedy, *Religions and Philosophies of the East*, pp. 12, 25.

⁶ Pal's *Religion of the Hindus*, Vedic Period, p. 8.

⁷ Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, i. 2 *apud* Pal. Dutt (*Civilization in Ancient India*, i. 38) gives 2000-1400 B.C. for composition, and 1400-1200 B.C. for compilation.

⁸ Haug's *Aitteriya Brahmana*, i. 47, *apud* Pal.

⁹ Bloomfield, *Religion of the Vedas*, p. 19.

¹⁰ Jones, *Inst. of Manu*, Preface, p. 12.

¹¹ Colebrooke, *Essays*, i. 109.

¹² Pargiter, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 294, criticized by Prof. Keith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 737.

¹³ Max Müller, *India : What can it teach us?* p. 53.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *A.S.L.*, p. 525. Dr. Farquhar (*O.R.L.I.*, p. 17) is inclined to accept Max Muller's dates.

¹⁵ Max Müller, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 340.

16. 1500-1000 B.C., Vedic Age.¹
17. 1500 B.C., Vedic Age begins.²
18. 1500-800 B.C., *Rig Veda* composed.³
19. 1320-1000 B.C., gradual composition and compilation of *Rig Veda*.⁴

It has been remarked, and the remark is apposite to the diversity of opinion here exhibited, that we are on safe ground in demanding a number of centuries for the much-stratified language, literature and religion of the Veda. But how many? It is as easy to imagine three as thirteen or twenty-three. Only one thing is certain. Vedic ideas are very old. I have noted the fact that the concept 'rat,' cosmic or universal order, is found in cut-and-dried Iranian names in Western Asia as early as 1600 B.C. I am, for my part, and I think I voice many scholars, now much more inclined to listen to an early date, say 2000 B.C. for the beginnings of Vedic literary production, and to a much earlier date for the beginnings of the institutions and religious concepts which the Veda has derived from those prehistoric times which cast their shadows forward into the records that are in our hands. Anyhow, we must not be beguiled by that kind of conservatism which merely salves the conscience into thinking that there is better proof for any later date, such as 1500, 1200 or 1000 B.C. rather than the earlier date of 2000 B.C. Once more, frankly, we do not know.⁵

¹ Monier-Williams, *Hinduism*, p. 19.

² Macdonell, *S.L.*, p. 8.

³ Barnett, *Bhagavad Gita*, Introduction, p. 2.

⁴ Clayton, *Rig Veda*, p. 48. On astronomical grounds the hymns have been given the early date of 3000 B.C. (Plunket, *Ancient Calendars*, pp. 121, 129.) This in 1903. Prof. Whitney's criticism of Colebrooke was in 1864, *J.R.A.S.* (N. S.), i. 316. Sir Edward Colebrooke's reply is at p. 332.

⁵ Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, p. 19. Among starting points for Vedic chronology may be here noted a few—(1) Inscriptions, 1270 B.C., in Cilicia showing worship of Vedic gods (Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, i. 122 n); (2) Battle of Kurukshetra. Prof. Keith (*J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 737 n) post-dates the battle; (3) Death

A sturdy, young nation of *conquistadores*, thinks Dr. Barnett, was too much busied with fighting and ploughing and cattle-rearing to take a general interest in the speculations of theology and the composition of appropriate psalms, and therefore left the work to be done, in return for a fee, by a special order of priestly poets.¹ Not all the hymns of the *Rig Veda* are the work of hired singers. A very large proportion, I am inclined to think, must be considered the compositions of lay Aryans, often in imitation of now non-extant earlier hymns, and were produced as occasions of prayer against peril, or prayer for deliverance, or petitions for blessings, or thanksgiving for gifts arose. The layman

of Gautama Buddha; (4) *Compilation of Rig Veda* by Vyasa, 1050 B.C. (see *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 737); (5) 315 B.C., date of Chandragupta, 'sheet anchor of Indian chronology' (Max Müller, *A.S.L.*, p. 300. See pp. 262-312 where Max Müller discusses Buddhist chronology, date of Chandragupta, date of Vedic commentator Katyana, and date of Panini.) If in 1270 B.C. Vedic gods were known in Cilicia, the cult, whether it originated in India or in Asia Minor, must have been in active existence long prior to 1270 B.C., and hymns are inseparable from worship of every sort. Leaving out of account the lost hymns of the *Rig Veda*, one has justification for claiming for the extant hymns an antiquity prior to 1270 B.C., even 2000 B.C. is a moderate approximation, Professor C. Foster Kent (*Beginnings of Hebrew History*, Chart facing title page) fixes 1500-1050 B.C. as the primitive age of Hebrew song and story. Why should not a far greater antiquity be conceded to the Aryan songs, songs of a people of at least equal capacity for culture as the Semites? Why again, should not the *Rig Veda* be coeval with the period of Egyptian hymn-age, much anterior to the date of the first use of papyrus-writing? On the antiquity of human civilization generally may be noted the age of the *Code of Hammurabi*, probably a contemporary of Abraham. Johns (*Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts and Letters*, p. 5) dates the *Code* at 2250 B.C. The beginnings of Egyptian and Babylonian civilization are said to be before 4000 B.C. (See Driver, *Genesis*, Introduction, § 3).

¹ *Bhagavad Gita*, Introduction, p. 2

gradually became the priest, and thus were the beginnings of seership.

§ 12. The extant hymns were handed down from father to son, from warrior to warrior, from Brahman to Brahman, for many generations.¹ Who put the hymns in their present form? Who fixed the canon? Before attempting to answer these questions, it is well to note that the three Vedas, the *Rik*, *Yajur* and *Saman* are inter-related in their contents, or more precisely, the second and the third are, in the main, dependent on the first. It has been calculated that all the verses except seventy-five of the *Sama Veda* are taken directly from the *Rig Veda*.² The *Yajur Veda*, though borrowing many of its verses from the *Rig Veda*, is particularly in its prose sections an original production.³ It is, therefore, to the subject of the *collection* of the hymns into the canon of the *Rig Veda* that attention has principally to be directed. There were *not* three collections, but *one*. The ten *mandalas* into which the hymns of the *Rig Veda* are divided represent, according to tradition, the distribution of the hymns among various Vedic families.⁴ The families of poets and seers were almost always rivals for precedence and recognition, and hence in the canon there are peace-hymns called *Apri*, linking together the compositions of contending families, free of feuds.⁵ The *Apri* hymns

¹ Kennedy, *Religions and Philosophies of the East*, p. 26.

² Macdonell, *S.L.*, p. 171.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 181.

⁴ Max Müller, *A.S.L.*, p. 465. Macdonell, p. 31.

⁵ Max Müller *A.S.L.*, p. 467.

certainly prove that there had been an active intercourse between the ancient families of India long before the final collection of the ten books, and that these ten books were collected and arranged by men who took more than a merely poetic interest in the ancient sacred poetry of their country.¹

As early as 1860 Max Muller discovered in the arrangement of the hymns and the *mandalas* of the *Rig Veda* certain striking peculiarities suggestive of some method and purpose in the mind of the collector and arranger.

Even previous to the composition of the *Brahmanas* a spirit was at work in the literature of India, no longer creative, free and original, but living on the heritage of a former age, *collecting, classifying, imitating . . .* The *Rig Veda* belongs to a period previous to the complete ascendancy of the Brahmanas . . . And yet, there is some system, there is some priestly influence clearly distinguishable. It is true that the ten books of the *Rig Veda* stand before us as separate collections, each belonging to one of the ancient families of India, *but were these collections undertaken independently in each of the families, at different times, and with different objects?* I think not. There are traces, however faint, of *one superintending spirit . . .* The *mandalas* do not represent collections made independently by different families, but *collections carried out simultaneously in different localities under the supervision of one central authority.*²

These facts and inferences seem reasonable :

1. The original poets did not sing or compose in ten books.
2. The arrangement into books is a later work.

¹ Max Muller, *A.S.L.*, p. 467.

² *A.S.L.*, pp. 456, 461, 463. An analogy is furnished by what modern scholarship holds with reference to the composition of the Pentateuch out of materials of different ages and from different sources. There may be in the *Rig Veda* portions like the Pentateuch *P, J, E, and JE* strata. See below, Appendix, note A.

3. The arrangement was undertaken for some specific purpose.

4. The arrangement represents the ancient Vedic families.

5. The various families, representatives of the ancient ones, at the time of the collection, contributed to the arrangement.

6. The work of collection and arranging was carried on under one general supervision, most probably of *one* man.

Sayana, who wrote commentaries on the *Rig Veda* and some of the *Brahmanas*, A.D. 1350-1387, seems to have noticed 'the peculiar character of the *Rig Veda*'. Max Muller, editor of Sayana's *Rig Veda* commentary, notes this fact.¹ In 1883 Mr. F. Pincott, of the Oriental Institute, Woking, propounded a theory suggested by what Sayana had very vaguely hinted at, and Max Muller less dimly guessed. Mr. Pincott divides the *Rig Veda* into six sections, the Brahmanas' division was into five. Mr. Pincott's division² is—

1. *First Mandala*.—Eclectic ceremonial liturgy divisible into eleven parts connected with an elevenfold oblation.

2. *Mandalas* ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii.—Family collections of hymns, representatives from which were taken to produce the grand eclectic liturgy in Mandala i.

3. *Mandala* viii.—Pragatha hymns, semi-canonical and miscellaneous.

4. *Mandala* ix.—Soma hymns.

5. *Mandala* x.—Hymns 1-84. Hymns ascribed to mythic personages, Bhadrakas.

6. *Mandala* x.—Hymns 85 to end. Hymns ascribed mostly to mythic rishis, Bhṛigu. Also miscellaneous hymns.³

¹ *A.S.L.*, pp. 457-9, quoting Sayana's Introduction, p. 34.

² Mr. Pincott's contributions are in *J.R.A.S.* (N.S.), xvi. 381 and (N.S.), xix. 598.

³ *J.R.A.S.* (N.S.), xvi. 384.

The whole collection is thus arranged, in order, into Liturgy, Family group of hymns, Supplementary hymns, Soma hymns, Mythological hymns. The Family hymns are thus arranged, under the family names of their respective rishis, whose names are within brackets :—

1. Bhrigu [Gritsamada], Mandala ii.
2. Visvamitra [Visvamitra], Mandala iii.
3. Angiras, Gautama branch [Vamadeva], Mandala iv.
 Atri (Atri), Mandala x
3. Angiras, Bharadaraja branch [Bharadaraja], Mandala vi.
2. Vasishtha [Vasishtha], Mandala vii.
1. Pragatha ¹ hymns, Mandala viii.

‘These seven mandalas,’ says Mr. Pincott,² ‘*find their pivot in the fifth mandala*, on each side of which they are systematically arranged. The important Angiras family (under whose superintendence the *Rig Veda* seems to have been arranged) placed the hymns of its two branches one on each side of the centre. The Visvamitra family, ever the friends of the Angiras, were placed next, balanced on the other side by *their great rivals, the Vasishthas*; while outside these again was placed, at one end, the inconsiderable collection of the Bhrigus, with the miscellaneous Pragatha collection as a counterpoise at the other extremity. Nothing could be more systematic than this. It is just what the *relative importance and mutual rivalries of the families would necessitate*.’ The central and pivotal position given to the fifth *mandala* is, believes

¹ See above, § 5, note.

² *J.R.A.S. (N.S.)*, xvi. 385, italics mine.

Mr. Pincott, due to *Atri* being the patron saint of the *Soma*.¹

The arrangement of the first *mandalā* hymns is also shown to be with reference to the central fact of *Soma* libation—

1. Visvamitra's family. Hymns 1-10.
2. Angiras' family (Bharadaraja branch), 11-64.
3. Vasishtha's family, 65-73.
4. Angiras' family (Gautama branch), 74-94.
5. Kutsa (Bharadaraja Angiras), 95-99.

Kasyapa and the Five Rishis, 100-101.

5. *Kutsa* (Bharadaraja Angiras), 102-116.
4. Angiras' family (Gautama branch), 117-127.
3. Bhrigus' family, 128-140.
2. Angiras' family (Gautama branch), 141-164.
1. Agasti, 165-191.²

Kasyapa and his family being pre-eminently the rishis of the *Soma*³ are placed in the centre.⁴ All the Kasyapa hymns, but ten, are *Soma* hymns, and hence the central position.

The companion hymn to . . . Kasyapa's . . . is by the five Rishis, and is dedicated to Indra and the Maruts. Now we know that Indra and the Maruts are *sharing half the oblation* with Agni,⁵ and *this circumstance renders the position of the hymn both obvious and full of interest*. It seems impossible to suggest any other reason for separating

¹ *J.R.A.S.* (N.S.), xvi. p. 386. Cf. *Aitareya Brahmana*, vii. 27.

² *J.R.A.S.*, (N.S.), xvi. p. 390.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 389. Cf. *Aitareya Brahmana*, vii. 27.

⁴ Mr. Pincott quotes *Bhagavata Purana*, ix. 16, 21, 22. 'He gave to others the intermediate regions, and to Kasyapa the central.' Kasyapa the *Soma*, lunar, poet's only hymn to Agni (solar god) is put in the centre. Kasyapa in addition to being the special poet of the *Soma* was recognized as the first hymn teacher who received sacred knowledge from the gods themselves. *J.R.A.S.* (N.S.), xvi. 319.

⁵ *Rig Veda*, i. 72.

Kutsa's hymns to Agni and those to Indra from each other by the insertion of invocations to Agni and Indra with the Maruts in the very centre of the *mandala* than . . . that it marks the point in the ceremonial when the libation of Soma was poured out.¹

Mr. Pincott maintains, and with reason, that the first *mandala* is a collection of hymns intended to represent the families or *gotras* of the seven Rishis, the grand originators of the Brahmanic faith, and to unite in a single ceremonial observance the entire body of the orthodox.² About the *eleven* parts of the first *mandala*, as shown above, Mr. Pincott says that the division calls to the mind of every student of ancient Brahmanism the old puro-lasa offering in eleven receptacles.³ His conclusion, at the close of a very fascinating study of the arrangement of the ten books of the *Rig Veda*, and of the hymns of the First Book, is that the First Book is an eclectic ritual, expressed in eleven acts of worship, five on each side of a centrally prominent one, and that the ritual is associated with the Horse Sacrifice (*Asvamedha*).⁴

§ 13. The ascription so learnedly advocated by Mr. Pincott of the compilation of the hymns in the *Rig Veda samhita* to a member or members of the family of the Angiras encroaches considerably upon the tradition which associates with that task the name of Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa. Whatever

¹ *J.R.A.S.* (N.S.), xvi. 389-90.

² *Ibid.* (N.S.), xix. 605.

³ *Ibid.*, 607; xvi. 391. A puro-lasa is a baked flour cake (Max Müller, *A.S.L.*, p. 390 n).

⁴ *J.R.A.S.* (N.S.), xix. 623-24. The *Brahmanas* of the Vajasa-neyins has books xxii-xxv on *Asvamedha*.

he was, he was not an Angiras. Against Vyasa is this opinion of Professor Keith :

If Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa really is the compiler of the *samhita* . . . why should the *Brahmanas*, the *Aranyakas*, the *Upanishads* and even the *Sutra* texts pass over this great achievement in silence? Surely they must have mentioned so important a sage, for they are not chary of citing authorities of all kinds.¹

Mr. F. E. Pargiter, on the other hand, suggests that the silence has this reason—

The Brahmins set themselves early to exalt the antiquity and character of the *Rig Veda*, and naturally nothing that would derogate therefrom could be expected from their mouths . . . Brahmanism by its exaltation of the Veda and its own pretensions shut its mouth to all matters that would derogate therefrom and by its total lack of the historic sense confused and mythologized the 'historical' matters it contained.²

The *Mahabharata*³ refers to a son of Rishi Parasara and a fish-maiden, Satyavali. He was dark, and hence called *Krishna*. He was born on an island, and hence his name *Dvaipayana*. He was the *arranger* of the Vedas and was therefore named Vyasa.³ A much later book, the *Vishnu Purana*, says that Vyasa 'collected together the hymns called *Richas* and compiled the *Rig Veda*.'⁴ Max Muller refers to the ascription of the collection of the hymns to Vyasa as 'a tradition of the Brahmins who, in matters of this kind, are extremely untrustworthy'⁵—a passage not made use of by

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 740.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 743-4.

³ *Adi Parva*, Book I, p. 2300. He is also mentioned as the author of the 'Fifth Veda,' the *Mahābhārata*.

⁴ Book III, ch. iv.

⁵ *A.S.L.*, p. 479. See *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 91, 231, 476.

Mr. Pargiter in his discussion of the Vyasa topic with Professor Keith.¹ Mr. Pargiter dates the compilation at 1050 B.C., and Professor Keith places the *Mahabharata* long after 600 B.C. and the Puranic references to Vyasa in the Christian era. A Hindu writer, quoted in an earlier portion of these studies, following Wilson's and Colebrooke's date 1400 B.C. for the battle of Kurukshetra, fixes 1700 B.C. for the compilation of the *Rig Veda* hymns by Vyasa.² Professor Wilson, one of the earliest of Oriental scholars, speaks of Vyasa as 'a person of rather questionable chronology and existence'.³ These questions may well be asked on this subject of the Vyasa compilation :

1. Why did tradition select Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa passing over more famous names ?

2. How is it that *no other* name is associated with the compilation ? Why is there no rival tradition ?

Dr. Thomas, writing in 1885, remarked ⁴ :—

Perhaps no more striking proof of the superior mental calibre of the latter [the indigenous races of India contrasted with the invaders] could be cited than *the fact admitted on all sides*⁵ that the Vedic scriptures were not co-ordinated by any Aryan rishi, but were first 'arranged' and virtually rescued from the possible oblivion incident to their state of unwritten songs, by the *Veda-Vyasa* Krishna (the black), *Dvaipayana*, born on an island in the Jumna, to whom was confided the task of superintending the first recension of the scattered hymns. It is true that this individual is represented to have received inspiration from his putative father, the Rishi Parasara ; but the *Kanina*, 'the bastard'

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 293-4, 743-4.

² Pal, *Religion of the Hindus*, Vedic Period, p. 7.

³ *Rig Veda*, vol. i, Preface, xxx.

⁴ *J.R.A.S.*, (N.S.) xv. 369.

⁵ These italics are mine,

and the low estate of the mother, would seem to show, *all the more, the force of his individual genius*,¹ and equally establish the intellectual advancement already achieved by the mixed races who then dwelt in the land.

Whether the tradition is Brahmanic,² or Kshatriyan,³ the fact calls for explanation that, of all men, of his time or of an earlier or later age, eminent for sanctity and scholarship, Vyasa, the dark, non-Aryan of reproachful paternity, is given the honour, unshared by a rival, of being the arranger of the hymns and *mandalas* of the *Rig Veda*.

¹ These italics are mine.

² Max Müller, *A.S.L.*, p. 479.

³ Pargiter, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 293, 743.

CHAPTER IV

VEDIC RELIGION

§1. 'The hymns of the Vedas,' says an Indian scholar, 'are not the simple ballads of primitive pastoral tribes, but bear marks of an antecedent literary culture of which they are the crowning product.'¹ 'While in the strict sense it is not true to say that the religion and the civilization which gave birth to the hymns are primitive, it is true that no other people has bequeathed to us a body of lofty literature representing such an early stage in the development of civilization.'² 'The *Rig Veda*,' says Professor Macdonell, 'is not a collection of primitive popular poetry, as it was apt to be described at an earlier period of Sanscrit studies. It is rather a body of skilfully composed hymns, produced by a sacerdotal class, and meant to accompany the Soma oblation and the fire sacrifice of melted butter which were offered according to a ritual by no means so simple as was at one time supposed, though undoubtedly much simpler than the elaborate system of the Brahmana period.'³

§2. The religion of the age of the book, the character of which has already been seen, was one with stages of development. There is abundant evidence of the worship of many gods—gods great,

¹ Srinivas Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 106. Cave, *Redemption*, p. 24.

² Farquhar, *Crown of Hinduism*, p. 69.

³ *Sanscrit Literature*, p. 65.

small, young, old.¹ The number, excluding many minor deities, is, in some places, given as thirty-three.² In others³ it is given as 3,339. The total is invariably given in terms of the number 3, and, in the majority of passages, the numbers 3 and 11 figure prominently.⁴ The gods, their character and inter-relation will be dealt with in other sections of this chapter. Before that it is necessary to note that, generally speaking, on a broad survey of the *Rig Veda*, the first impression on the reader's mind is of the prevalence of *polytheism* in *Rig Vedic* times. Looking closely into this polytheism one notices that in it are traces of early *animism*. As we shall see in our study of the principal gods there is in the *Rig Veda* a process by which a particular god is for a time regarded as supreme, only to be replaced later by another. Max Muller calls this *henotheism*.⁵ The arbitrary nature of the selection of a god to a position of supremacy according, probably, as he is of service to the worshipper, has suggested the term *chrematheism*.⁶ Some would see at the back of all the polytheism of the Vedas

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 27. 13.

² *Ibid.*, i. 34. 11; i. 45. 2; i. 139. 11; viii. 30. 2; viii. 35. 3; ix. 92. 4.

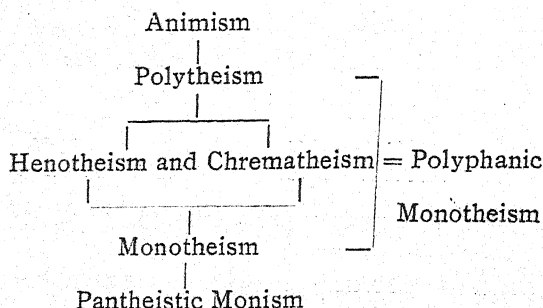
³ E. g., *Rig Veda*, iii. 9. 9; x. 52. 6. The number is made up of 33, 303, 3003. See *Atharva Veda*, x. 7. 13.

⁴ On the sacredness of 11, it may be noted that the hymns of the First Book of the *Rig Veda* fall into eleven groups; the Puroḷasa offering was in eleven vessels; and that the *Satapatha Brahmana* enjoins eleven accessories to the *Purushamedha* sacrifice. Pincott, *J.R.A.S.*, (N.S.), xix. 607, 623.

⁵ *A.S.L.*, pp. 533-4. This is called also *Kathenotheism*. (Macdonell, *S.L.*, p. 71).

⁶ Urquhart, *London Quarterly Review*, October, 1912, p. 260.

the worship of the One True God, *monotheism*.¹ Others have seen in the *Rig Veda* progress towards *pantheism* and *monism*.² The progress may be represented thus—



This is not perhaps quite the order in which religion developed, but of the two limits, *Animism* and *Monism*, there can be no question. With reference to monotheism I am inclined to think that the religion of the men of the *Rig Vedic* age had a solid background of monotheistic belief.³ At any rate, they very speedily evolved the monotheistic idea.

§3. Animism is traceable in the *Rig Veda* as practically extinct and superseded by more rational beliefs. 'The Vedic divinities—the personification of natural forces—when exalted to a superhuman magnitude, whose dwelling-place is the atmosphere or the heavens, still retain marks of an early animistic form, as when *Agni*, the fleet god of fire, is represented by a steed, and Indra . . . by an ox; and

¹ Pal, *Religion of the Hindus*, Vedic Period, pp. 30, 96. Srinivas Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 136.

² J. M. Kennedy, *Religions and Philosophies of the East*, p. 31. Barth's *Religions of India*, p. 25.

³ See above, ch. ii, § 6 (8).

the Hindu Olympus, mostly beneficent, is encircled by an imaginary world of subordinate and sphinx-like deities, animal demons, etc.' ¹ Slater notes that divine adoration was paid to pebbles, mortars, carriages, implements of war, animals, plants, sacrifices, eatables and drinkables.² In the anthropomorphic divinities and material sacrifices of the Vedas are the remains of earlier crude conceptions.³ At the same time it must be admitted that the animism in the *Rig Veda* is only a trace of what once had been and no longer a living factor in religion.

§4. The first impression of polytheism as the religion of the *Rig Vedic* age seems to me to be one that must give way, on a more careful view, to the suggestion of what I would call 'polyphanism' at the back of which was monotheism. That is to say, there are indications in the *Rig Veda* of the conception of one God in many ways manifested. The Biblical theophanies, while affording no parallel, suggest an analogy. The 'Angel of the Lord' in the Hebrew theophanies was a manifestation of the Godhead.⁴ In some such way we may regard the deifying by the man of the Vedic age of the various manifestations of Divine Power. Fire, air, earth, water, the sky, thunder, lightning, rain, storm, and all the cosmic forces Vedic man had leisure to contemplate, he personified, and named gods.

¹ Slater, *Higher Hinduism*, p. 40.

² *Ibid.*, p. 40. Trees, herbs, weapons of war, waters are revered, *Rig Veda*, i. 75; vii. 34. 25.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 41. Oldenberg's *Ancient India*, p. 59.

⁴ See Appendix, note B.

The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills and the plains

Are not these, O soul, the Vision of Him who reigns ?
Is not the vision He, tho' He be not that which He seems ?

Dreams are true while they last, and do we not live in dreams ?

God is law, say the wise ; O soul and let us rejoice,
For if He thunder by law, the thunder is yet His voice.
And the ear of man cannot hear, and the eye of man cannot see ; ¹

But if we could see and hear, this vision—were it not He ?

This is true of the Vedic man's outlook upon the universe to the extent that some of the gods of his early worship were personifications of natural forces, only some² out of the three thousand three hundred and thirty-nine. Whether or no, a few only or all of the vast multitude of the Vedic gods were associated with natural forces and phenomena, we have indications of the fact that Vedic man, as portrayed in the hymns of the *Rig Veda*, saw behind all he revered and worshipped the vision of the One God. It was a blurred vision. It was a shifting vision. Hence his naming Him, the One, sometimes in one way, sometimes in another, and at other times by all names together. Under one set of circumstances he calls Him Agni, under another Mitra, under a third Varuna, and so on. His impression that a particular god he has named and prayed to and praised in his songs is the One

¹ Tennyson, *Higher Pantheism*.

² 'The names of these deities embrace no ideas drawn from physical nature but express certain relations of social and moral life.' (Roth, *J.G.O.S.*, vi. 76.)

lasts for a long while, and is even perpetuated in the remembrance of the hymns long after another singer or a new generation of singers had found a new name for the One Unnameable and discovered and described a new phase of the Godhead. It is not necessary to account for the many names of gods in the *Rig Veda*, to have recourse to theories of hedonism or tribal monolatry, or henotheism or chrematheism. The assertion is not extravagant that the religion of the *Rig Veda* was monotheistic in the main, as that of the Jews, was in spite of Baal, Ashtarte and the hosts of heaven they notoriously worshipped.

§5. In examining this statement in the light of proof-texts to be presently given, it is well to note that it was not the mere manifestation of power, even in its materialized and tangible aspects, when such was the case, that Vedic man named god. He began at the lowest point and advanced to some high conception transcending his first impression. Take such a material object as the *soma* beverage. The ninth book, the bulk of which is devoted to 'Soma the Purifier,' associates in hymn after hymn the Soma with vats, strainers, sieves, filters, press-stones, beakers, goblets, and every other concrete accessory of the production and refining of an exhilarating juice. Yet, we have such ideas as these in connection with this humanly produced *soma* juice :

1. Thou art auspicious energy.¹
2. Thine are King Varuna's eternal statutes.²

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 91. 3.

² *Ibid.*, i. 91. 5 ; ix. 97. 41. 42.

3. Thou art the primeval soul of sacrifice.¹

4. The god declares the deities' generations.²

5. He hath discovered even this hidden nature, the cow's concealed and most mysterious title.³

It is impossible to suppose that these attributes are postulated of a bottled juice however exhilarating in its physical effects. Do not the words, typical ones quoted above, suggest the possession of some transcendent ideas?

Take, again, the case of the god Agni. As fire, its production is ascribed to kindling-sticks.⁴ Yet one can discover a transcendent sense—a sense unobscured by the fact that many attributes may be traceable to the functions of fire in nature, domestic use and sacrifice⁵—in which Agni is the Sage, the Sign, Food, Light⁶; the many-named⁷; the centre of life eternal⁸; the knower of the Law, the Truthful⁹; he in whom all gods are centred¹⁰; and is every other god.¹¹ From beneath all the thoughts of seeming polythesim, real polyphanism, there keeps welling up a consciousness of the One.

¹ *Rig Veda*, ix. 2. 10.

² *Ibid.*, ix. 97. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, ix. 87. 3. In the Siddhānta system of Hindu philosophy the word *pasu* (cow) means 'soul,' and God is the 'Lord of the herd of souls'. English and Sanscrit commentators understand 'cows' in the *Rig Veda* inconsistently in various contexts. On the evolution of the idea of *pasupati* 'Lord of the herd of souls,' from Rig Vedic *pasupa* (protector of cattle) through *pasunam pati*, see Bhandarkar *V.S.*, pp 102, 103, 104, 105, 112, 113. For the conception that *pasupati* = *medhupati* (*Rig Veda*, i. 43-4) 'Lord of sacrifices' and that Śiva is the *pati* of all sacrifices, see Nalla. *Studies*, p. 112. On 'Lord of sacrifices' see above, ch. i, § 5.

⁴ *Rig Veda*, v. 9. 3; vii. 1. 1. ⁵ See attributes in vi. 7; viii. 39.

⁶ *Rig Veda*, vii. 6. 2. ⁷ *Ibid.*, iii. 20. 3. ⁸ *Ibid.*, iii. 17. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 145. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, iii. 11. 9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, ii. 1. 3; ii. 5. 4; v. 3. 1; viii. 12. 3

There are various strata of thought in the *Rig Veda*. We traverse section after section of speculation and see men groping after God if haply they may find Him. Once they think it is Agni who, they proclaim, 'is every other god'.¹ Other singers, other thinkers, feel as sure that 'all the gods abide in Indra.'² From other minds we have yet another conclusion, 'Aditi is all the gods.'³ This very diversity of opinion is, it seems to the present writer, a proof of the existence in Vedic times of a strong tendency towards finding and defining, the One, visions of Whom the seers and singers saw in the many ways, to them many forms, in which His power and His presence were manifested.

§6. There are texts which show beyond any doubt proofs of the Vedic conception of a Sole, Supreme, One God.

1. Thou, O wise God, art Lord of all, thou art the king of earth and heaven.⁴

2. I ask, unknowing, those who know, the sages, as one all ignorant for sake of knowledge,

What was that One who in the Unborn's image hath established and fixed firm these world's six regions.⁵

3. They call Him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni, and He is heavenly nobly-winged Garutman.

To what is One sages give many a title.⁶

4. Who as the Unborn supported the heaven. Let all the others die away.⁷

We have here, in the very First Book of the *Rig Veda*, representing the earliest stratum of Vedic thought, with the support from a later book the

¹ *Rig Veda*, ii. 1. 3; ii. 5. 4; v. 3. 1; viii. 12. 3.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 54. 17. ³ *Ibid.*, i. 90. 10. ⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 25. 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 164. 6. ⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 164. 46. ⁷ *Ibid.*, viii. 41. 10

eighth, the idea of an Unborn, the One, to whom the sages have given many names, Oneness out-distancing all ideas of bare supremacy. Even Tvashtar, 'the omniform creator, begetter and feeder of mankind,'¹ the 'maker of fair things, the lengthener-out of days,'² is only seemingly supreme, great only in his special sphere of action, and he is one in a company of many.³ There is a Higher. He is guessed at in such titles as Soul of all,⁴ the all-Sustainer,⁵ Father, Begetter of the gods,⁶ Maker and Sustainer,⁷ Lord of the world, Creator of creators,⁸ and 'the great Protector who made for us this all,'⁹ though many of these and similar names are given to gods whose limitations are not concealed. An advance in thought is seen in such passages as these :

1. One All is Lord of what is fixed and moving, that walks, that flies, this multiform creation.¹⁰

2. Afar the ancient of days I ponder, mighty Sire and Father.¹¹

3. My thought with fine discernment hath discovered the Cow who wanders free without a herdsman.¹²

4. I saw the Herdsman, him who never resteth, approaching and departing on his pathways.¹³

5. On the world's summit I bring forth the Father.¹⁴

The comparative lateness of the tenth book

¹ *Rig Veda*, iii. 55. 19. ² *Ibid.*, x. 18. 5. ³ *Ibid.*, v. 46. 2. 3. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii. 26. 7. ⁵ *Ibid.*, iii. 55. 21. ⁶ *Ibid.*, ix. 87. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vii. 35. 3. ⁸ *Ibid.*, x. 128. 7. ⁹ *Ibid.*, v. 43. 13.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, iii. 54. 8. ¹¹ *Ibid.*, iii. 54. 9.

¹² *Ibid.*, 57. 1. See above, p. 66, note 3, on 'Cow'. Why should 'cow' mean voice, plants, the dawn, etc. quite inconsistently? It means the All-Soul.

¹³ *Ibid.*, i. 164. 31; x. 177. 3. Does this merely mean 'I saw the Sun?' The Siddhānta idea of God as 'the Lord of the herd of souls' is significant. See above, p. 66 note on *pasupati*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, x. 125. 7.

of the *Rig Veda* is not sufficient reason for minimising its lofty ideals, especially when they find foreshadowings of them in the earlier books. The poets of the tenth, in so far at least as our present inquiry is concerned, sum up the earlier guesses after God and, with keen philosophic intuition, draw conclusions and postulate principles which, but for the fact of their being the legitimate goal, along lines of development, of the intellectual strivings and speculations and even bewilderments displayed in the poems representing more ancient strata of thought, should be meaningless. The prophets of the tenth book name not the Unnameable, though they had before them a long list of names scattered over nine books to choose from. How can they name 'the deities' name-giver?'¹ They allude to him as 'the Bird' beheld 'by the wise with their spirit and their mind,'² the 'Unborn,'³ 'the One wherein abide all things existing,'⁴ the first Origin,⁵ the gods' one Spirit,⁶ the God of gods,⁷ the One beside Whom there is none,⁸ the One the only One.⁹ They too, like others, earlier and later than they, confess that man cannot find God by searching :

Ye will not find Him who produced these creatures :
another thing has arisen up among you ;

¹ *Rig Veda*, x. 82. 3.

² *Ibid.*, 177. 1. The 'Bird' has been explained to mean in some places the Sun, and in others the Moon. Does the passage quoted here mean merely, 'the wise people saw the Sun?' Do not the unwise see it too? Why should the wise alone be able to see it and that 'with their *spirit* and their *mind*?'

³ *Ibid.*, x. 82. 6. (viii. 41. 10). All the 'gods' are *born*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, x. 82. 6. ⁵ *Ibid.*, x. 129. 7. ⁶ *Ibid.*, x. 121. 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, x. 121. 8. ⁸ *Ibid.*, x. 121. 10. ⁹ *Ibid.*, x. 82. 2

Enwrap in misty cloud, with lips that stammer, hymn-chanters wander and are discontented.¹

§7. The monotheism of the Vedic age is akin in some measure to what has been noticed about the religion of the Egyptians.

‘So far back as 3300 B.C. some one god had become so great in the mind of the Egyptians that he stood out from among the ‘gods’ and was different from the First, Second, and Third companies of the gods . . .’² ‘The idea of monotheism which existed in Egypt at a very early period is at least of the same character as that which grew up among both the Hebrews and the Arabs many centuries later.’³

Side by side with, and in the midst of, a seeming polytheism paralleled by that of the Vedic tribes—the adoration of the elements, multitudes of gods, trees, herbs, rivers—there was in the Egyptian mind a firm belief in a Divine Unity. A close examination of the texts of Egyptian papyri has led scholars to this conclusion :

Who then is the God Whose powers and providence are here proclaimed ? The answer to this question is that the God referred to is God, Whose power men of the stamp of Ptak-Hetep discerned even at the remote period in which he lived, and Whose attributes they clearly distinguished ; He was in their opinion too great to be called anything else but God, and though, no doubt, they offered sacrifices to the gods in the temple at Memphis, after the manner of

¹ *Ibid.*, x. 82. 7. This is a difficult verse. See Wallis, *Cosmology of Rig Veda*, p. 83. Muir, *O.S.T.*, iv. 7. 8 in Griffith, *Rig Veda*, vol. ii, pp. 498-9.

² Budge, *Religion of the Egyptians*, i. 120.

³ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.* i. 119.

their countrymen, they knew that God was an entirely different Being from those 'gods'.¹

As in the case of the Egyptians, so in the case of the people of the Vedic age, a species of polytheism had to suffice for the masses of the people, the many; and the few, through all that popular form of faith, were able to enunciate the existence of an Unnamed, Unborn, One beside Whom there is none. The Unborn was at the back of the polytheism of the Egyptians, as He was at the back of the Vedic polyphanism which often seems, in the *Rig Veda*, confusable with polytheism. The Egyptians, the Vedic men, the Arabs, lag far behind the Hebrews in the conception of the One, and there is no claim, in the whole range of non-Judaistic literature which is independent of Judaistic influence, corresponding in authority of revelation and consistency to facts as the majestic declaration of Moses, 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord, and thou shalt love the Lord thy God.'²

§8. God, 'manywise named in the Scriptures many times,'³ is a Being Whose power and providence are recognized and to Whom prayer is unceasingly made. The prayers are largely for temporal

¹ Budge, *op. cit.* i. 126. Adolphe Pictel, *Les Origines Indo-Européennes*, ii. 708 supports the view of early Aryan monotheism. 'Evidence comes from the tombs of Egypt that monotheism is older than Moses.' H. M. Wiener in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1920, p. 48. See also his *Religion of Moses*, pp. 31-6. Prof. Barton, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April, 1920, pp. 242-6, criticizes Mr. Wiener, and in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1920, pp. 334-44, Mr. Wiener defends his position. See Appendix, Note C.

² Deut. vi. 3, 4. On the ethical monotheism of the Old Testament as pre-Exilic see *The Biblical Review*, July, 1918, p. 352.

³ S. Tāyumanavar, *Psalms* i. § 2.

blessings, for cattle, riches, children, safety from enemies,¹ but not solely so. There are numerous indications of consciousness of sin, followed by prayer for pardon. It is not quite accurate to say ² that to the early Aryan 'sin' meant error in ritual or conduct, for to do so is to overlook the voluminous evidence of the texts, a few of which I give here. Sin, in the complex form in which it is known in states of civilization degrees removed from the joyous simplicity of Vedic times, was not contemplated, not possible to be, in the age of the *Rig Veda*; yet, what is prayed against is sin. The impression ³ that the consciousness of sin is a race consciousness rather than an individual one is hardly borne out by the texts, as will be presently seen. Justice is not done to the religious sense of Vedic man, as portrayed in the *Rig Veda* when his heart-felt prayers, not merely for pardon, but also for eradication of sin, for cleansing, and purity are whittled down to 'a half-way to morality, a somewhat *crainitive* pleading that the error should be overlooked because it was only an error and nothing more.'⁴ The so-called '*crainitive* pleading' might as well be the description of the Hebrew supplication hallowed by the penitence of all Christendom, 'Enter not into judg-

¹ These enemies are described as strong men, alien, riteless. *Rig Veda*, i. 81. 9, i. 33. 4, vii. 1. 10, vii. 6. 3, vi. 49. 15, x. 22. 8. Some of the enemy god-names were taken over into the popular religion of the Aryans (P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, *L.A.I.*, p. 123.) Whether these 'alien and riteless' tribes had poets and hymns in Vedic times is a question too wide to be discussed here.

² Clayton, *Rig Veda*, 149. Urquhart, *London Quarterly Review*, October, 1912, p. 257.

³ Urquhart, *London Quarterly Review*, October, 1912, p. 258.

⁴ *London Quarterly Review*, October, 1912, p. 257.

ment with Thy servant, O Lord.' Let us hear the *Rig Veda* prayers about sin and see how many of them do not recall familiar Biblical memories.

1. Whatever sin is found in me, whatever evil I have wrought, *remove*.¹

2. Loosen the bonds that bind me.²

3. Pardon, we pray, this sin . . . the path which we have trodden widely straying.³

4. Remove the sin that makes us stray and wander.⁴

5. The searcher-out of sin.⁵

6. Wipe out all our sins.⁶

7. Wipe out our trespasses.⁷

8. May His light *chase* our sin away.⁸

9. What sin we have at any time committed against the gods, our friends, our house's chieftain, thereof may this hymn be our expiation.⁹

10. Forgive us however we have erred and sinned against you.¹⁰

11. Loose me from sin as from a bond that binds me.¹¹

12. *Move* from me what sin I have committed.¹²

13. Remove my sin like her who bears in secret.¹³

14. I singly have sinned many a sin against you. Far be mine offences.¹⁴

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 23. 22. *N.B.*—(1) Individual sense, (2) '*Whatever sin*,' (3) '*Remove*' not '*overlook*'.

² *Rig Veda*, i. 24. 15. This can hardly be about '*ceremonial shortcomings*'.

³ i. 31. 16. '*We all went astray*.' (Isaiah liii. 6.)

⁴ i. 189. 1. Is ritual error the straying? ⁵ i. 88. 4.

⁶ i. 34. 11. '*Blot out mine iniquities*.' (Ps. li. 1.) ⁷ i. 147. 4.

⁸ i. 97. Each verse has this

⁹ i. 185. 8. Sin against gods or man. Miss Stephen in her very interesting *Studies in Early Indian Thought* does not appear to have gone fully into the question of the Vedic consciousness of sin and hence her remark at p. 9 that '*on the whole the sense of sin lies lightly on these ancient singers, nor does it develop in the course of the Vedic period*'. ¹⁰ ii. 27. 14.

¹¹ ii. 28. 5. Note the *personal* (not race) consciousness.

¹² ii. 28. 8. ¹³ ii. 29. 1.

¹⁴ ii. 29. 5. Note the intensely personal consciousness of sin.

15. Whatever sin through folly we here, as human beings, have committed, make Thou us sinless in the sight of Aditi.¹

16. If we, men as we are, have sinned against the gods through want of thought, in weakness or through insolence, absolve us from the *guilt* and make us free from *sin*.²

17. If we have sinned against the man who loves us, have ever wronged a brother, friend or comrade, the neighbour ever with us, or a stranger, remove from us the trespass.³

18. Set free and draw away the sin committed which we have still inherent in our persons.⁴

19. To every one who turneth even from sin to you, ye gods vouchsafe that he may live.⁵

20. If by some grievous sin we have provoked the gods, O Deities, with the tongue or thoughtlessness of heart, that guilt lay upon the Evil One, on him whoever leads into deep distress.⁶

We see in these sample-texts clear evidence of a consciousness of sin, as something infinitely greater than ceremonial faults or ritual misfeasance, something to be driven away, blotted out, and from the bonds of which the individual longs to be freed, and something from which whoso turns shall live. Some prayers, as pointed out in the notes, foreshadow the mediatorial idea which finds fulfilment in Jesus Christ, the one Mediator between God and man,⁷

¹ iv. 12. 4, v. 82. 6. The mediatorial idea is significant. Cf. iv. 1. 4, 'Put away from us Varuna's displeasure'. x. 12. 8, 'Proclaim to Varuna we are sinless.'

² iv. 54. 3.

³ v. 85. 7. See above, ch. ii, § 5. Sin against man is sin against God.

⁴ vi. 74. 3.

⁵ viii. 56. 17. Cf. Ezek. xviii. 27.

⁶ *Rig Veda*, x. 37. 12. Cf. 'Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil [the Evil One]'. Mt. vi, 13.

⁷ 1 Tim. ii 5; Heb. xii. 24.

the great High Priest Who 'maketh intercession for us.'¹

§9. The view advocated in this chapter that some dimly conceived form of monotheism was the primitive religion of Vedic man, with polytheism co-existent as a popular cult, is not inconsistent with that held by Professor Roth,² namely, that the first ideas of the Aryans were spiritual regarding God, and such ideas degenerated into non-spiritual conceptions.

The names of these deities [Adityas], with certain reservation in regard to Varuna, embrace no ideas drawn from physical nature, but express certain relations of moral and social life. Mitra 'the friend', Aryan, Bhaga, Ansa, the gods who 'favour', 'bless', 'sympathize', and Daksha 'the intelligent', are pure spirits, in whom the noblest relations of human intercourse are mirrored and so appear as emanations of the Divine life. . . If the earliest Aryan antiquity thus beheld in its highest gods not the most prominent manifestation of physical nature, but the condition of moral life and society, and consequently esteemed these moral blessings more highly than anything connected with the wants and enjoyments of sense, we must ascribe to that age *a high spiritual capacity*, whatever may have been its deficiency in the constituents of external civilization. . . The Vedic Creed [contrasted with the Persian] is preparing to concede highest rank to the latter class [nature powers] to transfer to them an ever-increasing honour and dignity, to draw down the Divine life into nature, and bring it ever closer to man. . . The modification in the religious consciousness of the Aryans consists in an *ever-increasing tendency to attenuate the super-sensuous, mysterious side of their creed, till at length the gods, who were originally the highest and most spiritual, have become unmeaning representatives of nature.*

¹ Heb. vii. 25.

² 'Highest Gods of the Aryan Races', *J.G.O.S.*, vol. vi, p. 76.

The present writer's position is that even after, and side by side with the results of, the 'tendency to attenuate the super-sensuous' conception of God, that original high, spiritual idea did not altogether die. It remained a persistent, though at times obscured, element in Vedic religion.

§10. The pantheistic monism one sees in the last book of the *Rig Veda*¹ may no doubt be a conception of Divine Unity disconnected from the trend of ideas embodied in the earlier strata of thought. It is more reasonable to suppose that the conception is the outcome of a progressive development in religious ideas. If so, an original polyphanic monotheism² is more likely than polytheism to have given the impetus to the speculations which resulted in the monism of the tenth *mandala*.³ However it be, the religion of the *Rig Veda* is, in the main, a religion of joyousness. The cares of life are not many and the confidence of men in the 'gods' is attested by the spirit of prayer which the hymns breathe. We have already seen that the prayers are not confined to the supplying of temporal needs, and that they bear testimony to loftier ethical aspirations.⁴ The prayers and praises of the *Rig Veda* take us to those ages when men walked with God

¹ *Rig Veda*, x. 90.

² See above, § 4. 'Owing to the greatness of the Deity the one Soul is celebrated as if it were many. The different gods are separate members of one Soul . . . with diversities of functions.' (Yasaka, *Niruktā*, vii. 45).

³ Cf. Muir, 'Progress of Vedic Religion Towards Abstract Conceptions of the Deity', *J.R.A.S.* i. (N.S.), 339. Urquhart, 'Religious Development in the *Rig Veda*', *London Quarterly Review*, October, 1912, p. 250. See below, ch. v.

⁴ Above, § 8.

and God walked with men,¹ and a man was able to say with child-like boldness of access :

What service may we do you with our future, and what with our ancient, friendship ?

Ye, O ye gods, are verily our kinsmen . . . Of kinsmen such as you never let us weary.²

We are Thy brethren, and Thou art our spring of life.³

§ 11. The place of sacrifice in Vedic religion is one of sustained importance. Sacrifice is acted prayer. It is also an expression of thanksgiving. The opinion entertained by some modern scholars that, in general, sacrifice is in the *Rig Veda* essentially a gift-offering⁴ and not a redemption of self⁵, is borne out by a vast number of Vedic texts. The sacrifices are gifts,⁶ food,⁷ viands,⁸ drink,⁹ oblation,¹⁰ libation.¹¹ The earliest Vedic sacrifices were *not* flesh or blood, but oil,¹² butter,¹³ milk,¹⁴ soma and milk,¹⁵ soma, milk and barley,¹⁶ and cakes.¹⁷

Fire is essential to all sacrifices. Agni is ' the mid-point of sacrifices, great cistern of libations. . . conveyer of oblations, ensign of worship.'¹⁸ Agni, Fire, is the high priest of the gods,¹⁹ and ' invoker,

¹ Gen. iii. 8 ; v. 22 ; vi. 9 ; xvii. 1.

² *Rig Veda*, ii. 29. 3. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 31. 10.

⁴ Keith's *Taittiriya Sanhita*, following Schwab and Oldenberg. See *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1916, p. 622.

⁵ As held by Ludwig, Eggeling and others. The ' redemption of self ' idea is secondary. (Macdonell, *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1916, p. 622.)

⁶ *Rig Veda*, i. 13. 1. ⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 3. 1. ⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 5. 9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 3. 6 ; i. 4. 2 ; i. 14. 8 ; i. 19. 1. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, i. 12. 10 ; i. 13. 11

¹¹ *Ibid.*, i. 9. 10 ; i. 21. 4. ¹² *Ibid.*, i. 93. 8. ¹³ *Ibid.*, i. 134. 6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 93. 12. ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 137. 1. ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 135. 6. 7. 8

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, iii. 28. 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, vi. 7. 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 44. 12 ; iii. 2. 8 ; x. 140. 5 ; i. 1. 1.

director, purifier, presenter at ceremonies.¹ In the Bible we read, in the opening chapters of Genesis,² of a conflict between two kinds of sacrifice, vegetable and animal. The Biblical narrative does not say that fire was employed by the sacrificers, but it does say that both kinds were intended as gift-offerings, as in the case of the earliest Vedic sacrifices which, in contrast to the accepted sacrifice in Genesis, were *not* flesh nor blood. The Rabbinic commentators infer that, though fire was not employed, the Lord marked His approval of Abel's offering by sending a *fire* from heaven to consume it.³ In the post-Abelic elaborate sacrificial system of the Jews, fire plays a very important part corresponding to its place in the *Rig Veda*. The inquiry is interesting, though it is not proposed to do more than raise it here :

(1) Whence had the Jews the idea of sacrifice by fire ?

(2) Whence had the Vedic men the idea of sacrifice by fire ?

(3) Does the story of Cain and Abel represent the age of transition from vegetable offerings to animal sacrifices ?

§12. Max Müller sees in the *Rig Veda* marks of the development of the sacrificial system from natural beginnings to formulated regularity and observance.

' There are several hymns which contain allusions to the *darsa purnamasa*, the famous New and Full Moon sacrifices. These sacrifices in themselves may have been of the greatest antiquity, as old as any attempt at a

¹ *R. V.* i. 94. 6 ; i. 12. 10 ; i. 13. 1 ; i. 60. 4.

² *Gen.* i. 3. 4 ; *Heb.* xi. 4.

³ Hershon, *Rabbin. Comm. on Genesis*, p. 33.

regulated worship of the gods. Passages, therefore, where we only meet with allusions to the phases of the moon, and their recurrent appeal to the human heart to render thanks . . . prove by no means, as the Indian commentators suppose, that at the time of the ancient Vedic poets the lunar ceremonies were of the same solemn and complicated nature as in the later times.¹

There is mention of the three time-points of the daily sacrifice, morning, noon and evening.² 'But when these sacrifices are mentioned with their technical names, when the morning, noon and evening prayers are spoken of as first, second and third libation, we feel that we move in a different atmosphere, and that we are listening to priests rather than to poets.'³ A whole Book of the *Rig Veda*⁴ is devoted to the Soma. 'The essential character of the Soma sacrifice . . . appears to be that it is the gift to Indra and the other gods, of the strong intoxicant, for the purpose of imparting to them mighty strength and of causing them to bestow liberal rewards on their worshippers. It is a somewhat peculiar feature of this ritual that Soma is not only the juice used as an offering, but at the same time a mighty god who is anthropomorphized. Its position is parallel to that of Agni who is both the element employed as a means of sacrifice and a great deity who is the object of worship.'⁵

§13. Animal sacrifice finds early mention in the *Rig Veda* as an accessory to the Soma oblation.⁶

¹ *A.S.L.*, pp. 490-1. Cf. *Rig Veda*, x. 64. 3. See Underhill, *Hindu Religious Year*, ch. iv.

² *Rig Veda*, iii. 28. 1; viii. 27. 19.

³ *A.S.L.* pp. 491-2.

⁴ Book IX with the exception of a few hymns

⁵ Macdonell, *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1916, p. 623. The three daily Soma oblations are referred to in *Rig Veda*, iv. 15. 2.

⁶ *Rig Veda*, v. 43. 7. The membrane enfolding the intestines of the victim was specially offered. The offering of flesh cooked with ghee is noted in the *Atharva Veda*, iv. 34.

There is a whole hymn¹ addressed to the sacrificial post, 'tall, upright, planted to the east of the fire,' and the pole is suggestive of the victim tied to it. The allegorical interpretation to which part of a verse in the Second Book is susceptible does not prevent its being the earliest reference to animal sacrifice in the *Rig Veda*.² As an accessory to another sacrifice to be presently noted is mentioned the sacrifice of 'the dappled goat, dear to all the gods'.³ The slaying of the goat is associated with the most important sacrifice in the *Rig Veda*, the *asvamedha*, 'horse sacrifice'. Reference has been made to Mr. Pincott's fascinating theory⁴ as to the arrangement of the hymns of the first book for use at the Horse Sacrifice with the Soma libation as the central act of the ritual. There are two hymns⁵ devoted to this sacrifice, and the hymns belong to the same, Gautama, set of authors. Yet the points of view of the hymns are entirely different—the first deals with the horse in a material, realistic way, while in the second we breathe the atmosphere of allegory and intangibility. The fact of this difference is undeniable. A comparison of the two hymns will show their divergent view-points. It is to be noted about Hymn 162 :

1. The horse is covered with golden trappings and a costly robe.

¹ *Rig Veda*, iii. 8.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 7. 5. 'Thou art honoured by us with barren cows, with bullocks, and kine in calf.' Bergaigne (note in *Griffith*, i. 267) takes 'cows' to mean 'prayers'. The allegory cannot, however, be consistently sustained throughout the verse. See note at p. 66 above.

³ *R. V.* i. 162. 2.

⁴ See above, ch. iii. § 12.

⁵ *Rig Veda*, i. 162, 163.

2. There is a stake, there are cooking vessels, forks, cauldrons, warming-pots, covers of the dishes, hooks and carving boards.

3. There is a fire kindled, and there is a roasting spit.

4. There are brought with the horse his bedding, his food, his drink, straps, heel-ropes and other belongings.

5. 'The slayer's hatchet pierces the four-and-thirty ribs of the swift charger.' According to custom there is one dissector.¹

6. 'Let not the fire smoke-scented make thee crackle nor glowing cauldron smell and break to pieces. Offered, beloved, approved and consecrated, such charger do the gods accept with favour.'²

7. The cooked meat is distributed among the worshippers.

Of the goat we are told it is 'the grasped oblation, going straightforward, bleating to the place dear to Indra and to Pushan . . . is first led forward . . . precedeth the charger . . . and to the gods the sacrifice announceth.'³ With reference to the proceedings described in this hymn it may be asked :

1. What is the function of the goat in the horse sacrifice ?

2. Why is there no express statement that the goat is sacrificed ?

3. May it not be that the goat is the symbol and substitute of the horse, and suffers vicariously for the horse, and may it not be that the cutting, carving and immolating of the goat are by transference of thought applied to the horse ?

4. May it not be too that the horse in reality 'here is not dead, nor is injured . . . but by easy paths [the goat dying in its stead] goeth to the gods ?'⁴

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 162. 18. ² *Ibid.*, i. 162. 15. ³ *Ibid.*, i. 162. 2. 3. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 162. 21. The horse, in the spirit, is dead in the goat, and is gone to join the 'two bays' of Indra.

If not this, then some other and mystic significance was attached to the Horse and its 'sacrifice' as will be seen by reference to Hymn 163 which may be looked upon as the commentary on, and key to, the proceedings in Hymn 162. Wilson, admitting the mystic meaning of Hymn 163, maintains that 'there is nothing in it incompatible with the more explicit description in the former *sukta* of the actual sacrifice of a horse.'¹ This view of that learned orientalist is based on the assumption that Hymn 162 describes '*the actual sacrifice of a horse*,' an impression, it is submitted, Hymn 163 is intended to correct. Hymn 163 has to be examined first before deciding whether or no it applies to 'the actual sacrifice of a horse'. Does it apply to a flesh-and-blood horse at all?

1. The horse proceeds from sea or upper waters.
2. It was fashioned out of the Sun.
3. It is Yama, it is Aditiya, it is Trita.
4. It is divided clearly from the Soma.
5. It has wings, and its horns are of gold and spread in all directions.
6. It has three bonds in heaven, three in waters, and three in the ocean.
7. It is recognized in spirit as a Bird.
8. It is an all-eater.
9. It longs for the station of the Cow.
10. It comes for the slaughter with God-ward thoughts.
11. The car, bridegroom, kine, maidens and singers follow it, and the goat who is his kin is led before him.
12. It goes to the noblest mansion, to its Father and its Mother.²

¹ Quoted in Griffith's *Rig Veda*, i. 212.

² *Rig Veda*, i. 163.

The acted parable of Hymn 162, where a goat took the place vicariously for the horse, is interpreted in Hymn 163 where the description ill fits a member of the animal world. The horse is *not* the Sun, for it is said to be 'fashioned out of the Sun'.¹ Being so fashioned, it, however, partakes of the nature of the Sun. Now, we know that Agni has his home in the waters,² in mid-air, in heaven and in the waters,³ is seated in the lap of waters,⁴ and is clothed with the ocean.⁵ We read of Agni as endowed with horns.⁶ Of Agni it is moreover said :

Thou Agni, like an able steed, art urged by wisdom in the wood.

Thou art like wind ; food, home art thou like the young horse that runs astray.⁷

The description of the Courser, as followed by 'the car, the bridegroom, the kine and the charm of maidens',⁸ may or may not be an anticipation of what is said of Agni, 'to thee the friendly courser, seen of all, comes speeding through the air,'⁹ but there can be no doubt as to the car and the bridegroom and attendants—the Sun in his chariot, of which the charioteer is Pushan.¹⁰ Now, Pushan is 'the joint-sharer of all sacrifices'¹¹, and is the only

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 163. 2.

² *Rig Veda*, i. 23. 20.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 95. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, x. 46. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, viii. 91. 4. *Samudra-vasas*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 43. 13.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vi. 2. 8. In i. 163. 11 we read 'swift as the wind in motion is thy spirit.'

⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 163. 8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vi. 2. 2. For the Sun as Courser, see *Rig Veda*, i. 180. 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, x. 26. 5 ; vi. 56. 3. Cf. Psalm xix. 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, x. 26. 5. He is also 'the charioteer of sacrifice'. *Rig Veda*, vi. 55. 1.

god described as 'the goat-borne'.¹ When we read that 'the goat who is his kin is led before him' [the Steed],² we may understand Pāshan, 'the joint-sharer of all sacrifices,' present symbolically by his representative, a 'goat'. If so, what is the steed? Being Sun-fashioned it is *not* the Sun. It is akin to the Sun. *It is Agni, the water-dweller, the samudra-vasas,*³ *of whom there is a Hindu tradition that he is the horse-shaped Fire stationed in the ocean to keep the waters within their bounds.*⁴ This view, that the sacrifice in Hymns 162 and 163 is of *Agni* himself, is confirmed, it seems to me, by the *omission* of the familiarly frequent invocation,⁵ addressed to *Agni*, to be present at all the sacrifices and to bring the gods with him and do his duties as priest and master of the ceremonies. In these two hymns which celebrate the highest sacrifice of the *Rig Veda*, of *Agni* himself in his aspect of the sea-born and sea-dwelling Horse, he could not be what he had been in other sacrifices. For purposes of tangibility and symbol a goat, representing Pushan—Pushan and Agni are aspects of the Sun and Light and Fire—vicariously takes the place of the horse. The Vedic Aryans, in Hymns 162 and 163, are seen celebrating a sacrifice of Fire, reverencing what their separated kinsmen the Iranians to this day do. The gorgeous but revolting elaborateness of the post-Vedic⁶ *asvamedha*, 'horse-sacrifice,'

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 138. 4; vi. 55. 3. 4; vi. 57. 3; vi. 58. 2.

² *Ibid.*, i. 163. 12.

³ *Ibid.*, viii. 91. 4.

⁴ See *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, pp. 9. 162. Wilson, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 394. Badavagni = Tamil *Vadavanal*.

⁵ *Rig Veda*, i. 1. 5; i. 12. 3 and so right through the ten books.

⁶ *Ramayana*, Book I, cantos 10-13. *Atharva Veda*, ix. 5. 14; ix. 4. 11.

was based on a literal reading of the portions of the *Rig Veda* discussed above. It is singular that the 'horse-sacrifice' is ignored in the *Brāhmanas* of the *Rig Veda*, and was slow in obtaining admission into the canon of the black *Yajur Veda*.¹ Nor is it without note that, though there are Hindus in India and Ceylon who eat the flesh of goats and sheep, there should not be a single race, tribe, family, or individual in India or Ceylon known to be an eater of horse-flesh, if *in fact* the Vedic Aryans did eat² the sacrificed horse.³

§14. In 1850 Professor Wilson expressed the opinion that the *Aitariya Brāhmana*, a book later than the *Rig Veda*, was 'an authority to a qualified extent for the primitive practices of the Hindus, and for including amongst them *the sacrifice, on particular occasions, of human victims*'.⁴ Ten years later Professor Max Müller wrote: 'The Story of Sunahsepha, which we find in the *Aitariya Brāhmana* in the Sankhayana Sūtras, . . . shows that at that early time the Brahmans were familiar with the idea of human sacrifices and that men who were supposed to belong to the caste of the Brahmans were ready to sell their sons for that purpose.'⁵ The legend of Sunahsepha is briefly this:—King Harischandra, long childless, prayed for a son, vowing he would sacrifice the son to Varuna when

¹ Macdonell, *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1916, p. 624.

² *Rig Veda*, i. 162. 12.

³ *Atharva Veda*, vi. 71. 1 is later than the *Rig Veda*, and it suggests eating of horse-flesh. Wilson, *Rig Veda*, vol. ii, Introduction, pp. xiii, xiv.

⁴ *J.R.A.S.*, O.S. vol. xiii., p. 105.

⁵ *A.S.L.*, p. 408.

he got him. A son was born, Rohita. Varuna claimed fulfilment of the vow, but Harischandra put off performance by pleading excuse after excuse till at last Varuna began to afflict Harischandra with a grievous disease. When the afflicted father proposed to Rohita the keeping of his promise, Rohita departed into the forests where, after many wanderings, he found a starving Rishi of whom he bought his second son Sunahsepha. Varuna, having agreed to the sacrifice of Sunahsepha in place of Rohita, Sunahsepha's own father bound him to the sacrificial post and was ready to slay him for the consideration of two hundred cows. The story concludes that Sunahsepha at the sacrificial post prayed to the gods and they untied him and set him free, and Harischandra also was relieved of his grievous affliction.¹

There is no reference in the *Rig Veda* to any ordinance of human sacrifice. In the early part of the First Book there are seven hymns which later tradition has assigned to Sunahsepha as sung by him when tied to the stake of sacrifice.² This ascription is not warranted by the context, and it is not correct to say³ that 'the earliest reference to human sacrifice occurs in the First Book of the *Rig Veda*'. Much later than the twenty-fourth hymn of the first book is the ninetieth of the tenth.⁴ It

¹ *Aitariya Brahmana*, vi. 8. Wilson, *Rig Veda*, i. 60. Muir, *O.S. Texts*, i. 355-407. Max Müller, *A.S.L.*, pp. 410-14.

² *Rig Veda*, i. Hymns 24-30.

³ Clayton, *Rig Veda*, p. 127.

⁴ 'This pantheistic hymn, generally called the *Purushasukta*, is of comparatively recent origin and appears to be an attempt to harmonize the two ideas of sacrifice and creation.' (Griffith, *Rig*

is a hymn of the 'gods offering sacrifice,' when they bound as their victim *purusha*, sacrificed the victim.'¹ We read that the gods 'bathed as victim on the grass Purusha born in earliest time,'² and out of the sacrifice was everything created, all living things,³ the three Vedas,⁴ and the four castes.⁵ The sacrifice of this Primal Man was a spiritual act as two of the seasons, Spring and Summer, are oil and wood⁶ and it was an all-generating, great, general sacrifice.⁷ It is the sacrifice of the All-Soul.

With reference to the subject of human sacrifice it may be observed of this hymn, the *Purusha Sukta*, that—

1. Its lateness is evidenced by its accounting for the origin of the very Veda into which it has been interpolated.

2. It is an allegory at best.

3. It belongs to a time when speculation had begun to take the place of the trustful simplicity and joyous unconcern of the singers of an earlier era of religion and ritual.

4. It may belong to a time when men had either forgotten and left in disuse a known practice of human sacrifice which in this hymn they allegorically apply to their guesses at the origin of things, or had seen the prevalence of human sacrifice among their neighbours and

Veda, ii. 520.) See Professor Keith's remarks, *J.R.A.S.*, January, 1915, p. 127. Muir, *J.R.A.S.*, ii. (N.S.), 282; Colebrooke, *Essays* i. 309. Max Müller, *A.S.L.*, p. 570, supports lateness of hymn.

¹ *Rig Veda*, x. 90. 15. 16.

² *Ibid.*, x. 90. 7. On a correction of some inferences drawn by Frazer in his *Scapegoat* from this hymn see Professor Keith's note in *J.R.A.S.*, January, 1915, p. 127, referred to above, ch. i, § 5, note.

³ *Ibid.*, x. 90. 8. ⁴ *Ibid.*, x. 90. 9. ⁵ *Ibid.*, x. 90. 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, x. 90. 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, x. 90. 8. 9.

applied the idea of that novelty in a bold figure to explain creation.

5. It, taken with the rest of the *Rig Veda*, is no authority for the suggestion that human sacrifice was sanctioned by the *Rig Veda*.

On human sacrifice in Vedic times there are different opinions held by scholars :

1. Dr. Rajendralal Mitra asserts from the prevalence of human sacrifice among many nations that the Vedic Aryans must be presumed 'not to have been incapable of sacrificing human beings to their gods' and that *Rig Veda*, i. 24-30 refer to human sacrifice.¹

2. Human sacrifice was of very rare occurrence.²

3. 'It does not necessarily follow from this legend (of Sunahsepha) that the Rishis, the authors of the Vedic hymns, offered human sacrifices. . . Though I doubt the continuance of that custom during the Chandas (earliest Vedic) period, I see no reason to doubt its *previous* existence.'³

4. 'The Purushamedha or human sacrifice is not alluded to as a ritual form in the *Taittiriya Samhita* though the Brahmana and the Samhita of the White Yajur Veda enumerate symbolical human victims. There can be no doubt that the ritual was *a mere priestly invention to fill up an apparent gap in the sacrificial system, and that a real human sacrifice in the Brahmana period was regarded with horror*.'⁴

§ 15. Assuming that the legend of Sunahsepha is importable into the *Rig Veda*,⁵ every chronological difficulty overcome, we are bound to admit that :

¹ *Indo-Aryans*, quoted in Clayton, *Rig Veda*, p. 132. Haug, *Origin of Brahmanism*, p. 5, thinks *Rig Veda*, x. 90 old and refers it to 'ancient' practice of human sacrifice.

² Srinivas Iyengar, *L.A.I.*, p. 93. On human sacrifice among the Jews, see below, Appendix, Note D.

³ Max Müller, *A.S.L.*, p. 419.

⁴ Professor Macdonell, *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1916, pp. 624-5.

⁵ *Rig Veda*, i. 24-30.

1. There was no human sacrifice in reality on the occasion of Sunahsepha's bonds.¹

2. Sunahsepha was a substitute for another, Rohita.

3. The substitution was effective for the afflicted third person, Harischandra.²

The legend establishes the antiquity, coeval at least with the age of the twenty-fourth hymn of the First Book, of *the efficacy of vicarious substitution*, though the substitution had not the incidents of mortal agonies, and the substitute was delivered from death by his own prayers and unconscious of the relief his *willingness* to die had given an afflicted stranger. The theory, corresponding no doubt to the practice, of substitution shows, in the case of the Sunahsepha story and the First Book of the *Rig Veda*, that, *prior* to the age of the twenty-fourth hymn of that Book, human sacrifice had been prevalent amongst the ancestors of the Rishis of that age, and survived to that age as an ordinance remembered in substitution. A later writing³ works this out thus—

'As man was taken, *medha* (sacrifice) went out of him, and entered the horse. Therefore the horse became the sacrificial animal. Then the gods took the horse,⁴ but as it was taken the *medha* went out of him and entered the ox. Therefore the ox became the sacrificial animal. The same happened with the ox. Afterwards the sheep, then the goat, and at last the earth⁵ became the victim. From the earth rice was produced and rice was offered in the

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 24. 15 is supposed to refer to the upper, middle and lower bonds that bound the victim to the stake.

² See above, § 14. ³ *Aitareya Brahmana*, vi. 8. ⁴ See above, § 13.

⁵ Professor Legge claims for the worship of Mother Earth 'not only the most ancient but the most persistent religion known to civilized man,' an antiquity anterior to 9000 B.C. (*J.R.A.S.*, October, 1917, p. 714).

form of *purolasa* [a cereal cake] in lieu of the sacrificial animal.' ¹

We know from still later literature that the concreteness of sacrifice was, in the course of time, as the result of deeper speculations, attenuated into the bareness of an abstraction :

The sacrifice of muttering the imperishable syllable *OM* is better by tenfold than the regular sacrifice ; if inaudible, a hundredfold better ; if mental a thousandfold.²

Again we read that :

Teaching and studying the Vedas is the Veda sacrifice. Offering cakes and water is the sacrifice to the Fathers. An offering to fire is a sacrifice to the gods. Hospitality to guests is the sacrifice to men.³

The post-Vedic spiritualizing of the ordinance of sacrifice receives in the lofty philosophy of the *Gita* a transcendent interpretation in that passage where Sri Krishna says :

The sacrifice am I ; the oblation to the Fathers am I ; the hero am I ; the spell am I ; the butter-oblation am I ; the fire am I ; and the rite of oblation am I.⁴

All these post-Vedic views on sacrifice are in contrast with the exalted philosophy of a Jewish penitent :

Thou desirest no sacrifice, else would I give it Thee ; and Thou delightest not in burnt-offerings. The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit ; a broken and contrite heart, O God, Thou wilt not despise.⁵

¹ Max Müller, *A.S.L.* , pp. 419-20, quotes and discusses the above.

² Manu, *Dharma Sastra*, ii. 84, 85. ' *Om Tat Sat* is known as the triune definition of Brahma ; by it are ordained aforetime Brahmans, Vedas and sacrifices ' (*Gita*, xvii. 23).

³ Manu, *Dharma Sastra*, iii. 70. See, below, ch. x. § 5.

⁴ *Gita* (Barnett's translation), ix. 16.

⁵ Psalm li. 16-17. ' Repentance is a Divine indwelling . . . It is the Divine principle in man, the Shechinah. . . ' (Abelson, *Immanence of God*, pp. 140, 142).

On a still loftier plane stands the Christian writer who sums up the whole doctrine of sacrifice in one short sentence, 'We have an altar.'¹

§16. No study of Vedic religion is complete without some reference to the conception in Vedic times of a life after death. It is well to note, at the very outset of search in the *Rig Veda* for indications of thoughts on an after-life, that the people whose religion is pictured in that book had no occasion to be troubled with those problems which are the puzzle of post-Vedic speculation. The *Rig Vedic* Aryans looked upon the after-life as a normal sequence to the earth-life. There was no mystery attaching to it, and death held for them no terror. This was but natural in view of the very joyousness of their religion. 'In the old Vedic time a joyful view of life prevailed in India in which we discover no germs whatever of the conception which subsequently dominated and oppressed the thought of the whole nation; as yet the nation did not feel life as a burden but as the supreme good, and its eternal continuance after death was longed for as the reward of a pious life.'² To a long-living race of men whose prayers for prolonged existence are numerous—'prolong our life anew,'³ 'may our princes live a hundred winters'⁴ 'grant unto us to see a hundred autumns,' 'ours be the happy lives of our forefathers,'⁵ 'let my days be lengthened'⁶—the conception of a continuance of life, perhaps not dissociated from

¹ Heb. xiii. 10.

² Garbe, *Philosophy of Ancient India*, p. 3.

³ *Rig Veda*, i. 10. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 73. 9 ⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 27. 10. ⁶ *Ibid.*, vi. 47. 10.

mundane accessories, into another existence must have come with all the naturalness of a legitimate wish. When we read therefore of prayers for and other references to *undyingness* we are justified in regarding them as the natural outcome of their religion and not as philosophic speculations :

1. For glory thou liftest up mortal man to highest immortality.¹

2. Our wise forefathers had obtained their share of treasure among the gods.²

3. Soma becoming abundant to produce immortality place for us excellent food in the sky.³

4. The givers of rich meeds are made immortal.⁴

5. May I attain to that beloved abode [Vishnu's] where men devoted to the gods are happy, and there is a spring of honey in the highest sphere of the wide-striding Vishnu.⁵

6. Fain would we go unto your dwelling-places where there are many-horned and nimble oxen, for, mightily, there shineth upon us the widely-striding Bull's sublimest mansion.⁶

7. We pray for rain, your boon, and immortality.⁷

8. The Undeceivable is Keeper and Guard of immortality.⁸

9. Lead us to ample room, to happiness, security, sunlight . . . , may we betake us to the lofty shelter of thy [Indra's] mighty arms.⁹

10. We have sipped Soma and become immortal, we have attained the light and discovered the gods.¹⁰

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 31. 7.

² *Ibid.*, i. 91. 1. Griffith, 'dealt out among the gods their share of treasure'.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 91. 18. Griffith, 'waxing to immortality'.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 125. 6. 'He goes to the gods' (i. 125. 5).

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 154. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 154. 6. 'Oxen' interpreted as stars. 'Bull'...Vishnu.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 63. 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vi. 7. 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vi. 47. 8.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, viii. 48. 3.

11. Lead us with your aid to immortality.¹

12. As from its stem the cucumber so may I be released from death, not reft of immortality.²

The fruit referred to in the last quotation, says Prof. Wilson in his *Rig Veda*, *ad loc.* is 'the *karkandhu* which when ripe falls of itself from its stalk'. The prayer, with this analogy, emphasizes the wish for death as a purely natural release, not without hope of immortality.

More definite and distinct than in the earlier parts of the *Rig Veda* are the 'intimations of immortality' in the later portions of the Samhita:

Place me in that deathless, undecaying world wherein the light of heaven is set, and everlasting lustre shines. Make me immortal in that realm where dwells the King, where is the secret shrine of heaven, where are those waters young and fresh.

Make me immortal in that realm where they move even as they list, in that sphere of inmost heaven where lucid worlds are full of light.

Make me immortal in that realm of eager wish and strong desire, where food and full delight are found.

Make me immortal in that realm where happiness and joys and felicities combine and longing wishes are fulfilled.³

Here may be noticed evidence of the wish for an existence in *natural continuation* of the joyous life on earth. The mind of the Vedic seer of this hymn is as much tinged by gleams of materiality as was that of the seer of the apocalyptic vision at Patmos.⁴ In the former case a strong element of sensuousness goes to form a factor in the *enjoyment* of Heaven,

¹ *Rig Veda*, v. 55. 4. ² *Ibid.*, vii. 59. 12. ³ *Ibid.*, ix. 113. 7-11.

⁴ Rev. xxi. Spurgeon (*Grace Triumphant*, p. 201) observes on Rev. xxi. that the 'metaphors and figures' in the chapter overlie the truth that 'the heaven a true Christian seeks is a heavenly one'.

while in the case of the New Testament seer the sensuousness is confined to the realization of the *environment* of Heaven in the plane of the material.

When we pass from the earlier books of the *Rig Veda*, passing even the later Ninth, into the Tenth, we are in an atmosphere of speculation, doubt, and dogma. We may guess that the singers of that Book are there striving to fill in with details the interspaces left in the faith and the fancy of their forefathers. While regard must be had to the possibilities of development of thought, the transition from the simplicity of belief as seen in the earlier portions of the *Rig Veda* to the elaborated abstractions of the Tenth Book seems sudden, because, perhaps, there are not before us, are lost to us, the traces of the steps of the progressive process culminating in the philosophy of the close of the canon. It is, in this context, remarkable that the philosophic sections of the Tenth Book bear close affinity to the Brahmanic and Upanishadic ¹ opinions of later times. The 'modernness' of the Tenth Book in this respect is a surprise; only, perhaps, it might seem less sudden were we in possession of the wherewithal to trace the evolution. In the absence, however, of such material the finding on the present state of the evidence must be that the surprise is justifiable and the conclusion of 'modernness' is fair.

In the Tenth Book we find warrant for the following thoughts and some of them in advance of others :

1. Yama, in post-Vedic literature, god and judge and tormentor of the dead, is distinguished from Death.²

¹ See above, ch. iv, § 14, and see below, ch. viii., § 4.

² *Rig Veda*, x. 18. 1. 4. See Muir, *J.R.A.S.* i. (N.S.), 288-306.

2. Yama is praised as the path-finder 'who travelled to the lofty heights above us, searches out and shows the path to many, and first found for us a place to dwell in'.¹

3. Yama is in the company of the departed spirits who rest and rejoice in his society.²

4. There is a world of spirits in 'highest heaven'.³

5. In that other existence doers of good deeds are 'blest with life eternal'⁴ and there is 'the home of the gods, the seat where Yama dwells,'⁵ and there is 'the Tree clothed with goodly leaves where Yama drinketh with the gods' and 'in the Tree the Father tendeth with love our ancient sires'.⁶

6. The blessed dead are those 'who have attained the life of spirits, gentle and righteous, aiding us when we call them, and they dwell among the gods'.⁷

7. The dead are god-led to Heaven. They are conducted by safe paths by Pushan, the path-knower to the Fathers' keeping, to be 'given by Agni to the gracious gods'.⁸

8. Death is something to be dreaded, also the dove, the bird of death.⁹ Men fear Yama's watch-dogs,¹⁰ and his fetters.¹¹

9. From Yama's keeping a soul may be redeemed.¹²

10. In heaven the soul 'meets Yama, the Fathers, and the merit of free acts, leaves sin . . . and bright with glory wears another body'.¹³

¹ *Rig Veda*, x. 14. 1. 2. Yama is a benefactor. He had made a great sacrifice of himself for men. *Rig Veda*, x. 13. 4. See above, ch. i, § 5, note.

² *Ibid.*, x. 14. 9. 10; i. 35. 6. 'Three heavens there are . . . Yama's world is one, the home of heroes.'

³ *Ibid.*, x. 14. 8; x. 15. 14. ⁴ *Ibid.*, x. 107. 2. ⁵ *Ibid.*, x. 135. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, x. 135. 1. There are references in the earlier books to places of punishment. *Rig Veda*, iv. 5. 5; vii. 104. 3; ix. 73. 8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, x. 15. 1. 2. ⁸ *Ibid.*, x. 17. 3. 4. 5. 6. ⁹ *Ibid.*, x. 165. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, x. 14. 10. 12.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, x. 97. 16.

¹² *Ibid.*, x. 60. 9. 10; x. 58. 1. The word used here is *manas* and not *atman*.

¹³ *Ibid.*, x. 14. 8. Cf. x. 15. 14; x. 12. 4.

§17. The reference to 'another body' in the passage quoted in the last section is *no* authority for any suggestion of a belief in transmigration. The passage usually relied on by those who argue the existence of a statement of that belief is this :¹

1. Burn him not up, nor quite consume him, Agni : let not his body or his skin be dissolved. O Jataderas, when thou hast matured him, then send him on his way unto the Fathers.

2. When thou hast made him ready, Jataderas, then do thou give him over to the Fathers. When he attains to the life that awaits him, he shall fulfil the pleasure of the gods.

3. The Sun receive thine eye ; the wind thy spirit ; go according to nature to earth or sky. Go, if it be suitable for thee unto the waters, go make thy home with plants with all thy members.

4. As for his unborn part, kindle it with thy heat ; let thy flame and thy lustre kindle it. With those forms of thine, which are so auspicious, convey it to the world of the righteous.

5. Agni, give up again to the Fathers him who comes offered to thee with oblations. Putting on life let him approach his remains ; let him meet his body.

It may be noticed about these verses ² that—

1. They are addressed to Agni on the cremation of a dead man.

2. They refer to the dissolution of the body, and the destination of the 'unborn part'.³ The bodily dissolution

¹ *Rig Veda*, x. 16. 1. 5. Muir's translation adopted mainly (*J.R.A.S.*, i. (N.S.), 294-5).

² Given largely in Muir's translation (*J.R.A.S.*, i. (N.S.), 294-5) which differs considerably from Griffith's *Rig Veda*, ii. 402.

³ Griffith's translation (*v.* 4), 'Thy portion is the goat, with heat consume him, etc.' is in accord with the view that a goat was cremated with the dead body (*Cf. v.* 7). If so, the goat represents Pushan, and is to announce the new-comer to the gods (*Atharva Veda* ix. 5. 1. 3). *Cf. Rig Veda*, i. 162 and see above, § 13.

is according to nature and fitness,¹ like going to like.² The destination of the 'unborn part' is the region of the righteous.

3. Fire is the vehicle of the journey of the soul.³

4. *There is no trace of any thought of the soul passing from body to body.* Identity and individuality in a continuance of earth-life under non-material conditions are believed in. The soul rejoins its body, however transformed.⁴

The doctrines of Karma and Transmigration are not supportable by these verses now considered.⁵ Professor Keith, in the course of a review of Professor Oldenberg's *Rig Veda*, vii-x, *Textkritische und Exegetische Noten*, Berlin, 1911, the last pre-War contribution of German scholarship to the study of the *Rig Veda*, observes :

Professor Oldenberg refuses to find in the *Rig Veda* the doctrine of *metempsychosis*, whether in its direct expression or presupposed in the view of the pre-existence of the

¹ Griffith translates 'as thy merit is,' 'if it be thy lot,' where Muir has 'according to nature,' 'if that is suitable for thee'.

² On absorption into plant-life, cf. Shakespeare, *Hamlet* v. 1 'And from her fair and unpolluted flesh may violets spring,' suggesting Tennyson's *In Memoriam* xviii, 'And from his ashes may be made the violet of his native land'. Churton Collins (*Illustrations of Tennyson*, p. 100) cites *Hamlet* v. 1 and Persius, *Satires* i. 39 as parallels.

³ The use of fire to convey to the dead man his house, carriages, furniture, etc. is seen in the Chinese custom in Malaya, of burning, in replica, houses, carriages, etc. and so sending them for use in the spirit-world.

⁴ *Rig Veda*, x. 15. 14, 'Grant them their own body.' The prayer applies even to burials.

⁵ Muir, *J.R.A.S.*, (N. S.), i. 306, quoting Weber. See Garbe, *Philosophy of Ancient India*, 3. 4, Macdonell, *S.L.*, p. 115. Professor Macdonell thinks that *Rig Veda*, x. 16. 3, refers to the soul's passage to plants and waters. Slater, *Higher Hinduism*, p. 223, considers that *Rig Veda*, i. 164. 32 is usually relied on for proof of Transmigration. L. B. Nath, *Hinduism*, p. 264, finds the doctrine in *Rig Veda*, x. 16. 1. 5.

soul. He rejects Geldner's theory of the pre-existence of Vasishta's soul in vii. 33. 9 and his reading of Samsara into x. 14. 2, and he agrees with me in rejecting Boger and Windisch's discovery of it in x. 14. 14. The conclusion thus rendered inevitable is that *metempsychosis* is *not Rig Vedic*, a fact which sets a very wide gulf between the early and the later *Vedic* world.¹

In a passage quoted earlier² in this section is the prayer that the passing soul should 'meet the merit of ordered acts in highest heaven,' and 'leaving sin and evil . . . bright with glory wear another body'. Griffith³ explains 'merit' as 'stored up in heaven to be enjoyed on arrival by the spirits of the pious who have performed them' [the 'ordered acts']. There is nothing said about the dead man's bad acts, however inconsiderable numerically, nor of their being balanced as in later teaching.⁴ There is no suggestion, in the passages considered in this context above, of the soul flitting from body to body and existence to existence. On the other hand the soul, 'the unborn part'⁵ of man, is to re-join its body, its body, yet another, being glorified.⁶ The conclusion that Karma and Transmigration are unknown to the *Rig Veda* is entitled to weight in

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, January, 1913, p. 198.

² *Rig Veda*, x. 14. 8.

³ *R. V.* vol. ii., p. 399.

⁴ *Satapatha Brahmana*, xi. 2. 7. 33. On the doctrine of 'balancing of Karma' in Siddhanta teaching see my *Psalms of a Saiva Sain*, pp. 167. 168.

⁵ *Rig Veda*, x. 16. 3. The destination of the various parts of man is elaborated in the *Atharva Veda*, xi. 8. 33; xviii. 2. 48; xi. 1. 37; iv. 34. 4. Existence in the world of spirits is a continuance, even in the *Atharva Veda*, of earth-life, and there is no passing into other bodiments, vi. 120. 3; xii. 3. 6. 17.

⁶ *R. V.* x. 15. 14; x. 16. 5; x. 14. See further, on Eschatology, ch. x below

the light of the principal texts usually claimed to support those tenets, and particularly in view of the very joyous outlook on life the religion of the *Rig Vedic* Aryan witnesses.

CHAPTER V

THE GODS OF THE RIG VEDA

§1. Subject to what has been said above as to gods many and the One God,¹ we may now consider the gods of the *Rig Veda*, specially with reference to their character and inter-relation. The number of the gods—whether they be looked upon as manifestations or distinctnesses—is not consistently given.² The gods are, in some passages, said to be of various standings, ‘the mighty and the lesser, the younger and the elder,’³ according, one may guess, to degrees of appreciation of power and reputation, and recognition of ancientness. In the opinion of a late singer each god is invokeable, each god in turn to be gracious without partiality.⁴ Another ascribes to all gods equality of dignity, ‘Not one of you, ye gods, is small, none of you is a feeble child, all of you are verily great. . . . ye three-and-thirty deities.’⁵ In another place loss of favour and popularity among the gods is recognized, ‘Away pass *Agni*, and *Varuna* and *Soma*. Rule ever changes’.⁶

§2. An early classification of the gods of the *Rig Veda* is Yaska’s, ‘There are three deities according to the commentators, *Agni* whose place is on the

¹ See above, ch. iv, §§ 4. 6. 7.

³ *Rig Veda.*, i. 27. 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, viii. 30. 1. 2.

² See above, ch. iv, § 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 27. 13.

⁶ *Ibid.*, x. 124. 4.

earth; *Vāyu* or *Indra*, whose place is in the atmosphere; and *Sūrya* (Sun) whose place is in the sky.¹ This classification is extended to all the gods, on the basis that all are manifestations who are, accordingly, *terrestrial*, *atmospheric*, *celestial*,² excluding *abstract* deities, and a few minor and malevolent ones. The *terrestrial* deities are: Prithvi, Agni, Soma, Yama, Yami. The *atmospheric* deities are: Vayu or Vata, Indra, Rudra, Parjanya, the Bhrigus, Maruts. The *celestial* deities are: Dyaus, Varuna, Mitra, Sūrya, Savitri, Pushan, Vishnu, Ushas, Aryaman, the Asvins. Among *minor* deities are: Tvashtar, the Ribkus, Gandharvas, Asparasas. Abstract conceptions³ of the deity are discoverable in the *Rig Veda* and they are indicated by such names as Visvakarman, Hiranyagarba, Brahmanapati, Daksha, Aditi, Non-entity, Entity, the One, Purusha, Prajāpathi, Kama, Sradha, Vāch, Ka. To this group may be assigned the miscellaneous 'All-Gods', Visvadevas.

§3. The gods are thought of generally in terms of sympathetic nearness.

Of one spirit are gods with mortal man, co-sharers
all of gracious gifts :

. May they increase our strength, hereafter and to-day
providing ease and ample room.⁴

¹ *Nirukta*, vii. 5. *Rig Veda*, x. 158. 1 'May Surya guard us out of heaven, and Vata from the firmament, and Agni from *terrestrial spots*.' x. 65. 9; vii. 35. 11.

² *Nirukta*, vii. vi, ii, ix, x. xi. xii.

³ Muir, *Progress of Vedic Religion towards Abstract Conceptions of the Deity* (*J.R.A.S.*, (N.S.), i. 339) W. S. Urquhart, 'Religious Development in the Rig Veda,' *London Quarterly Review*, October, 1912, p. 250.

⁴ *Rig Veda*, viii. 27. 14.

The relationship between the worshippers and the worshipped is that between friends.¹ Closer association is sometimes claimed. 'Our birth connections are with them whose long line stretcheth to the gods.'² 'Ye gods are verily our kinsmen . . . Of kinsmen such as you let us never weary.'³ 'O Indra, Brother,'⁴ 'Kinsman, good Friend'.⁵ Throughout the *Rig Veda* we find numerous references to the gods in terms of feeling friendliness, affectionate kinship and tender regard, even in the prayers for pardon and deliverance from guilt. This is evidence of a state of religion untrammelled by those dogmatic differentiations which, in later times, made God so distant to man, and nearness was taught to be possible only through an elaborate system of sacerdotal mediation.

§4. To the gods conceived of in terms of such closeness as we find in the *Rig Veda*, terms of familiarity and friendship, the worshippers attributed human feelings. The gods are eager guests at savoury sacrifices,⁶ and love to eat and drink with zest and enjoyment.⁷ Some of them are noted drinkers of soma.⁸ From eating and drinking the transition to grosser carnality was easy. As a result we read of the consorts of the gods,⁹ of

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 10. 6; i. 15. 5; i. 30. 17. 10; x. 65. 3.

² *Ibid.*, i. 139. 9. ³ *Ibid.*, ii. 29. 4; iii. 54. 16. ⁴ *Ibid.*, iii. 53. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii. 51. 6; vi. 29. 1; vi. 18. 5; vi. 45. 1; x. 23. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, iv. 2. 4; iii. 28. 3; i. 28. 1; vi. 49. 14; i. 12. 4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, x. 21. 1; i. 9; ii. 41. 13; i. 13. 2; iii. 58. 4; iv. 3. 15.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 30. 11; vi. 45. 10; vi. 23. 6; i. 2. 1; i. 14. 10; ii. 41. 3; i. 21. 1; i. 22. 12; i. 16. 8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 22. 9; i. 61. 8; i. 161. 4; i. 14. 7; i. 15. 3; ii. 36. 3; vii. 35. 6; x. 66. 3.

Indrāni, Varunāni and Agnāyi, the wives respectively of Indra, Varuna, and Agni.¹ Other gods have wives. The later Vedas were intenser in their details.² These references are pure anthropomorphisms, human efforts to understand God, by placing Him within the limitations of the play of the senses. A reasonable interpretation of 'consorts of the gods' is that the expression is not to be literally understood. Griffith³ quotes Sāyana, an early Sanscrit commentator, as explaining the words to mean 'the personified Gāyatri and other metres of the Veda', and himself understands them to denote 'the celestial waters'. While resort to allegorization⁴ is not always a strong point in matters relating to early religion, Hindu or non-Hindu, we may not over-censure the *Rig Vedic* religionists for failing, in the beginnings of their seership, to enunciate the greatness of God in terms of the utter purity of the Hebrew Bible where, from first to last, anthropomorphism never once reaches the remotest suggestion of sensuality, real or allegorical. This is a remarkable fact, this uniqueness of

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 22. 12. Of Indrani, cf. iii. 56. 3. In x. 86. 6, Indrani is represented as speaking to her lord of her personal charms.

² E.g. *Atharva Veda*, xiv. 2, 31. 35; iv. 37. 2. 7. 11. The *Rig Veda* is not responsible for this any more than for the Puranic excesses of later times.

³ *Rig Veda*, vol. i. p. 83. The incestuous solicitations of Yama's sister (*Rig Veda*, x. 10) belong to a late stratum of Vedic thought and perhaps to a time when the necessity for a man to marry his sister was ceasing to exist.

⁴ See below, ch. xii, § 7 (2).

the Biblical conception of God, 'The very heavens are not clean in His sight'.¹

§ 5. The idea of the immortality of the gods is stated variously. The manifested gods are contrasted with the Unborn.² In a number of passages the gods are understood as generally immortal.³ They were born so. 'After Aditi were the blessed gods born sharers of immortal life.'⁴ There are, however, texts showing the acquisition of immortality by many gods. 'Thou, Savitar, at first producest for the holy gods the noblest of all portions, immortality.'⁵ Again, 'gods through thy glory . . . gained life immortal.'⁶ In these two passages we see gleams of the thought of a One, the sole Possessor of Immortality, though speculation once said it was Savitar, and then gave Him the name Agni.⁷ It is, again, asserted of Soma, 'The gods have drunk thee up for immortality,'⁷ 'Thou hast called all the generations of gods to immortality,'⁸ and 'Make ye ready that whereby the gods have gotten immortality.'⁹ While the *Rig Vedic* seers hesitated not to attribute to the gods various human feelings, and failings, they

¹ Job xv. 15. The mystical spousal relationship between God and the soul indicated in Is. liv. 5; Jer. iii. 14; Eph. v. 25, 32 and in *Canticles* suggests no exception to what is said above. See Appendix Note E.

² See above, ch. iv, § 6.

³ i. 24. 1. 2; i. 72. 10; i. 189. 3; iii. 2. 11; iii. 4. 11; iii. 21. 1; iv. 42. 1; v. 69. 4; vii. 5. 1; vii. 63. 5; vii. 97. 5; x. 13. 1; x. 69. 9.

⁴ *Rig Veda*, x. 72. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. 54. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 3. 4. Cf. iv. 19. 2; vii. 13. 2. Agni freed the gods from infirmities.

Ibid., ix. 106. 8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ix. 108. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, x. 53. 10.

nowhere assert death of them. They think of them as undying. Only in their strivings to find the cause of this difference, *undyingness*, between the gods and themselves, they yielded to diverse speculations—the gods became immortal through Savitar, through Agni, through the Soma draught—and the very latest of such guesses was that the deities attained *undyingness* by means of merit in well-doing and austerities.¹ This thought of ascribing to the gods themselves the practice of asceticism may be safely said to belong to an age when men began to break away from the simplicities of primitive religion and ritual, and to build up for themselves the bulwark of meritorious actions.²

§ 6. The inter-relation of the gods is indicated by expressions suggestive of comprehensiveness and inclusiveness, dependence, superiority, service, subordination, age, though sometimes at the expense of consistency :

(1) 'Aditi is the mother, and father and son; Aditi is *all* the gods and the five tribes.'³

(2) 'Agni, thou art Varuna . . . Mitra . . . Indra . . . Vishnu . . . and thou art Aditi.'⁴

(3) 'All ye deities abide in Indra.'⁵

¹ *Rig Veda*, x. 63. 4. 'By their merits attained as gods to lofty immortality.' Cf. x. 167, 1. See Muir, *Sanscrit Texts*, iii. 66; iv. 47, 53. The post-Vedic conception of the devas postulates the frailty of dissolution for them, and their need of final emancipation.

² It may be that the word *tapas* in the early hymns of the *Rig Veda* does not bear, what it does in the later, the significance of *austerities*.

³ *Rig Veda*, i. 89. 10. There are passages where Aditi is spoken of *with* other gods, e.g. *Rig Veda*. vi. 51. 11; ii. 27. 14; ix. 81. 4. 5; v. 46. 2. 3.

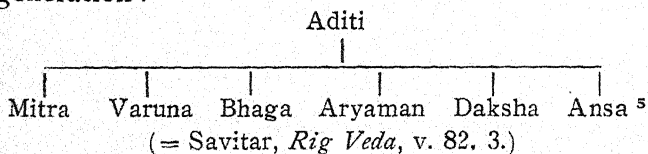
⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 1. 3. 4. 11; v. 3. 1; vii. 12. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii. 54. 17

- (4) 'O Agni, the gods are centred all in thee.'¹
 (5) 'Heaven and Earth have gods for progeny.'²
 (6) 'Brahmanaspati, the Father of the gods.'³
 (7) 'Thou (Agni) art the Father of the gods, and yet their son.'⁴

In this group of typical texts we have the sentiment of inclusiveness somewhat contradictorily conveyed. Once Aditi (perhaps rightly as meaning Infinity) is all-comprehending; next Agni is Aditi and all else; next Indra is the container; and all are the progeny of Dyaus and Prithvi; or of Brahmanaspati; or of Agni. It is, however, possible to reconcile these discrepant descriptions on the supposition that various forces of nature are considered from different view-points, but it seems more reasonable to allow that the diversities of opinion represent different stages of speculation.

The inter-relation is often expressed in terms of generation :



These are the Aditiyas, 'with their support they stay three earths, three heavens; three are their functions in the gods' assembly... They hold aloft the three bright heavenly regions. They slumber not, nor ever close their eyelids, faithful, far-ruling for the righteous mortal.'⁶

¹ *Rig Veda*, iii. 11. 9.

² *Ibid.*, i. 159. 1; i. 185. 4; iv. 56. 2; vi. 17. 7; vii. 53. 1; x. 11. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 26. 3.

⁴ i. 69. 1.

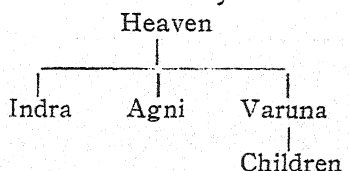
⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 27. 1. 7. In x. 72. 8, 9 she has eight sons. In ix. 114. 3 the Aditiyas are seven. In x. 72. 4. 5 it is said 'Daksha sprang from Aditi and Aditi from Daksha.'

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. 27. 8, 9.

Aditi and Vyansa

|
Indra.¹

Later thinkers in the Rig Vedic collection have recoiled from this anthropomorphic representation of Indra's birth and origin. 'When others call him the offspring of the Courser, my meaning is that Mighty Power produced him . . . whence he hath sprung is known to Indra only.'²



'Indra-Agni, sprung from one common Father, brothers, twins are ye. Their mother is in every place . . . The earth and heaven thou settest near each other, and madest bright thy Brother's children.'³ In the last passage the reference is to the creation of the heavens and the earth and the setting of the stars in the firmament of the sky.

Rudra and Prsni

|
Maruts

'They, who are glancing forth, like women, on their way, doers of mighty deeds, swift racers, Rudra's sons, the Maruts . . . the sons whom Prsni bore.'⁴

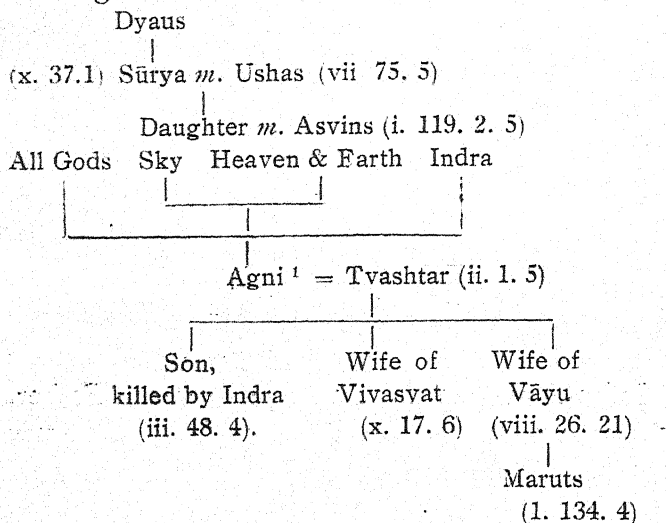
¹ *Rig Veda*, iv. 18. 9. 10. 11.

² *Ibid.*, x. 73. 10. In x. 101. 12 Indra's mother is Nishtigri (same, perhaps as Aditi).

³ *Ibid.*, vi. 59. 2 read with x. 55. 1 where reference is made to Indra's 'brother's children,' and by brother is meant Parjanya, or, more probably, Varuna. Griffith, *Rig Veda*, vol. ii, p. 458.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 85. 1. 2; ii. 34. 2; v. 52. 16.

There is material in the hymns for a more detailed pedigree-presentation of the relationship of some of the gods to others.



These tables of generations will show, despite contradictions due probably to different strata of speculation that there was a basis of truth for the bulk of them, if forces of nature in fusion and interaction and collaboration were the originals here personified into deities who in turn were but varied manifestations of the Great Unborn.² Thus the Agni pedigree shows, especially from the point of view of sacrifice, that fire is the immediate medium of the conveying of the offering and as such 'generated by the gods.'³ As fire from heaven Agni is the offspring of the Sky, or of Heaven and

¹ Four versions of Agni's descent are in *Rig Veda*, vi. 7. 1; x. 45. 8; ii. 2. 2; ii. 12. 3. He is equivalent to Tvashtar in *Rig Veda*, ii. 1. 5.

² See above, ch. iv, § 6.

³ *Rig Veda* vi. 7. 1.

Earth, the primal parents.¹ If fire is from heaven, it is but natural to ascribe its origin to Indra, great in heaven, the thunder-armed.² The identification of Agni with Tvashtar means some aspect of the action of fire, as when Vāyu (wind) by union with a daughter of Fire produces the storm gods (Maruts).³ A higher origin is ascribed to the Maruts as being sons of Rudra, the great god of whom no origin is postulated. The greatness of Indra, Agni and Varuna, at a time when not one of them was the greatest, evoked no lower theory of origin for them than that they were the offspring of Heaven.⁴ Heaven, again, is the Father of the Sun who, in one aspect of his career in the universe, is described as marrying the Dawn, and the Sun's daughter, that is some aspect of Light, is represented as contracting an alliance with the Asvins, meaning that lightnings and similar manifestation of light in motion are traceable to the sun.⁵ An early factor that persisted to the last stages of tradition and myth in the primitive Vedic god-conception was Personification of Powers behind phenomena, the Powers that were ultimately found to be facets of One Sole Power shining many-wise unto many men.

§7. In the conception of the gods in the *Rig Veda* a special feature is the expression of their

¹ *Rig Veda*, x. 45. 8 ; iii. 2. 2. 2.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 12. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, viii. 26. 21 ; i. 134. 4.

⁴ See above, p. 106. 107.

⁵ *Rig Veda*, x. 37. 1 ; vii. 75. 5 ; i. 119. 2. 5.

powers and forces in fusion in the form of compound names. We have the following combinations :—

| | |
|--------------|--------------|
| Indra-Varuna | Indra-Soma |
| Mitra-Varuna | Indra-Vishnu |
| Indra-Vāyu | Soma-Rudra |
| Agni-Soma | Soma-Pūshan |
| Indra-Agni | Indra-Pūshan |
| Vishnu-Indra | Agni-Maruts. |

The deities thus joined are conceived of as equal, at least in respect of granting the same boon, hearing the same prayer. It is difficult to say if this conjoining of deities in this form preceded or followed the period when one only of a combination was considered supreme by a particular tribe and later by all tribes.

§8. It is interesting to inquire if in the *Rig Veda* there are traces of the three great gods of Puranic Hinduism, Śiva, Brahma, Vishnu,¹ and of the Sid-dhānta High God, the Sole Śiva. Vishnu is certainly named in the *Rig Veda*. There are hymns addressed to him,² and in them he is praised as the upholder of 'earth, heaven and all living creatures' and Lord of the far-reaching stride. Heaven, 'the well-beloved mansion where men devoted to the gods are happy,'³ is his region. There is no other god of whom the same things are collectively said. It is conjectured that Vishnu was an Indian god from before the time of the Vedic hymns,⁴ the 'Ancient

¹ In the word *tryambaka* in *Rig Veda*, vii. 59. 12, some Indian commentators see an allusion to the Triad, and others think the word refers to Rudra as the 'three-eyed'.

² *Rig Veda*, i. 154 ; i. 156 ; vii. 99 ; vii. 100.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 154. 4. 5.

⁴ Srinivas Iyengar, *L.A.I.*, p. 126.

and the Last'.¹ There is no reference to Vishnu as Krishna-Vāsudeva.² Śiva is not named as one of the gods of the Vedic pantheon, and there is no hymn addressed to him as such. It is generally understood that Śiva is known in the *Rig Veda* under the name Rudra.

That Śiva, the Red God, Rudra, was an old Dravidian deity of Southern India incorporated into the North Indian pantheon, is, I believe, doubted by few. . . But there is another Śiva, the dread god of Northern India, the son-in-law both of Dakṣa and of the Himalaya, the husband both of Sati and of Uma (*Kenopanishad* iii. 12). . . At the present time these two gods, the Śiva of the Himalaya and he of Dravida are, and have been for many centuries, worshipped as one and the same person.³

The word *Śiva* occurs in the *Rig Veda* as an attribute of Rudra, and means *auspicious*.⁴ The word also (from the Tamil) means *red*, or *gold-red*, an element in the descriptions of Śiva in the *Siddhānta*.⁵ A verse in the *Rig Veda* thus runs :

To him, the strong, great, tawny, I utter forth a mighty hymn of praises.

We serve the brilliant god with adorations, we glorify the splendid name of Rudra.⁶

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 126. 2.

² See below, ch. ix.

³ Dr. Grierson, *J.R.A.S.* January, 1913, pp. 173-5. Dr. Macnicol, *Indian Theism*, p. 161, thinks that Siva is in the main not Aryan but aboriginal. See 'The Development of the Idea of Rudra-Siva' in Bhandarkar's *Vaisnavism and Saivism*, etc., pp. 102-15. For views from the purely Saivite point of thought see Nalla. *Studies*, pp. 142-154 and pp. 109-34. See Farquhar *O.R.L.I.*, pp. 32, 58, 83, 101. On Siva as transcending the gods of the Hindu Triad, see present writer's *Psalm of a Saiva Saint*, Introduction, part iv.

⁴ Macdonell, *S.L.*, p. 89.

⁵ See *Psalm of a Saiva Saint*, p. 193. Rudra is 'gold-red' in *Rig Veda*, i. 43. 5.

⁶ *Rig Veda*, ii. 33. 8.

Another is as follows :—

With humble adoration show this day your song of praise to mighty Rudra, Ruler of the brave.

With the Eager Ones, . . he comes from heaven, self bright, *śiva* (auspicious) strong to guard.¹

An Indian scholar thinks that the name, Rudra, meaning the Red One, seems to be a translation of the Dravidian name *Śiva*, later on adopted for the same god. . . Vishnu and Śiva were popular gods even before the Vedas were composed.²

To the derivation of *Śiva* from words or roots meaning 'red' or 'auspicious' may be added a Tamil scholar's derivation of *Śiva* from *vasi*.³

In noting the attributes and characteristics of Rudra one is bound to observe that to sum them up in such descriptions as 'destructive like a terrible beast,' 'malevolent,' 'man-slayer,'⁴ is to misrepresent that god. The proof-texts relied on do not justify these epithets.

Worthy, thou carriest thy bows and arrows, worthy, thy many-hued and honoured necklace.

Worthy, thou cuttest here each fiend to pieces : a mightier than thou there is not, Rudra.⁵

In this as in the next following verse the 'slaying like a dread beast of the forest' is of '*the fiends*' in Rudra's protection of mankind. The reference to him as 'man-slayer'⁶ is consistent with his previously noted attribute. Rudra destroys the

¹ *Rig Veda*, x. 92. 9.

² Srinivas Iyengar, *L.A.I.*, pp. 125-6.

³ Nallaswamy Pillai, *Studies in Saiva Siddhānta*, p. 115.

⁴ Srinivas Iyengar, *L.A.I.*, p. 125.

⁵ *Rig Veda*, ii. 33. 10. Indra is terrible in his strength and slaying, *Rig Veda*, i. 32. So is Brahmanaspati, *Rig Veda*, ii. 23, 13.

⁶ *Ibid.*, iv. 3. 6. Agni is also 'fierce, an avenger'. *Rig Veda*, i, 70. 6.

wicked as the Scholiast explains.¹ Such a prayer as, 'May Rudra's missile turn aside and spare us'² is just as natural as prayers of a like import addressed to Indra, Varuna, Mitra, Aditi and Agni. Rudra is no more malevolent than the other gods to whom prayer from harm at their hands is addressed :

'Varuna, be not angry, steal not our life from us.'³

'Break ye not in the midst our course of fleeting life.'⁴

'Not stirred to anger, . . . come nigh to us.'⁵

'Save . . . bring thou us not into trouble and affliction.'⁶

'He pardons not his boldness who provokes him.'⁷

'Strike us not Varuna with those dread weapons.'⁸

Passages like these can be multiplied, but it is precarious to argue from them that all these gods, even the gentle Varuna, were 'fierce man-slayers'. The great truth is that the Vedic singers recognized that the gods had unlimited power of life and death, and their prayers are not to be construed as picturing any particular god as conspicuously malevolent. It is safe to assert that Rudra has, in common with the other mighty deities of the Vedic pantheon, great prowess which he uses to the crushing of the wicked. What is said of him in literature⁹ later than the *Rig Veda* is irrelevant to the present context.

¹ Griffith, *Rig Veda*, i. 397. Indra is 'slayer of revilers,' *Rig Veda*, i. 29.7. Agni slays the wicked, *Rig Veda*, i. 26.15.20. Indra 'slays every one who pours no gift,' *Rig Veda*, i. 176.4. He is 'the great impetuous man-slaying hero,' *Rig Veda*, i. 32.6.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 33.14.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 24.11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 90.9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 138.4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 147.5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii. 12.10.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ii. 28.7.

⁹ Noted in *L.A.I.*, p. 125.

The impression left on my mind by a perusal of the principal Rudra passages in the *Rig Veda* is that he is a very powerful but particularly benevolent deity. It is the very essence of benevolence that it should be possible in one whose capacity for power and the wielding of power is unrestrictedly potent. The goodness of an anæmic being is not a virtue. God 'declares His almighty power most chiefly in showing mercy and pity.'¹ Here are a few *Rig Vedic* texts justifying this view of Rudra :

1. 'Strong, most bounteous, . . . lord of sacrifice, of hymns and healing medicines.'²

2. 'He is the good, the best among the gods.'³

3. 'May he repel from us the anger of the gods. Verily we desire his formidable grace.'⁴

4. 'Where is that gracious hand of thine, O Rudra, the hand that giveth health and bringeth comfort ?'⁵

5. 'Father, great and lofty, blissful.'⁶

6. 'Provide for our bodies, O Soma-Rudra, all needful medicines to heal and cure us . . . Release us from the noose of Varuna ; keep us from sorrow, in your tender loving-kindness.'⁷

7. 'Rudra, the Healer.'⁸

8. 'Come willingly to our doors that gladly welcome thee, and heal all sickness, Rudra, in our families.'⁹

9. 'Thou, very gracious god, hast thousand medicines ; inflict no evil on our sons or progeny . . . slay us

¹ Church of England *Prayer-Book*, Collect for 11th Sunday after Trinity.

² *Rig Veda*, i. 43.1.4.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 43.5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 114.4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 33.7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vi. 49.10.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vi. 74.3.4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vii. 35.6. ii. §§. 13.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vii. 46.2.

not nor abandon us, Rudra ; let not thy noose when thou art angry seize us.'¹

These passages seem to me conclusively to point to the benignity and benevolence of Rudra. It is surprising that so wary a scholar as Mr. J. M. Nallaswamy Pillai has so far overlooked these and like texts in the *Rig Veda* as to elaborate an apology² for the Rudra, not so much of the *Rig Veda*, as of the later writings. The severe aspect of Rudra's godhead—the learned author concedes such an aspect to those who allege it, it seems to me incorrectly, from the *Rig Veda*—is, according to him, balanced by the aspect of benevolence. There is much to be said in favour of the view that Rudra it was who, in the development of religious thought in later times, particularly in the literature of the Tamils, became known and was worshipped as Siva.³

As to Brahma, whom with Vishnu, Siva, according to accounts in Siddhanta writers,⁴ superseded in supremacy, his name does not occur in any form in the *Rig Veda*. In the *Rig Veda* is this inquiry :

What was the tree, what wood in sooth produced it, from which they fashioned out the earth and heaven?

¹ *Rig Veda*, vii. 46.3.4. This approximates to the noble and lofty representation in the Bible of God Who is gracious, yet a consuming fire, and Who in wrath remembereth mercy (Neh. ix. 17 ; Hab. iii. 2 ; Heb. xii. 29).

² *Studies in Saiva Siddhanta*, p. 115. See above, beginning of § 8.

³ Many of the descriptions of Siva are identical with those of Rudra in the *Rig Veda*, e.g. *Triyambaka*, *Lord of the Braided Hair*, the gold-red one, etc. Tamil literature abounds in such descriptions of Siva.

* See *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, pp 83. 206 and Introduction, part iv.

Enquire with your mind ye sages what was that on what he took his stand when supporting the world ?¹

It was left to the authors of the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*² to propound an answer, '*Brahma* was the forest, *Brahma* was that tree, out of which they fashioned heaven and earth. Sages, with my mind I declare to you, he took his stand upon *Brahma*³ when upholding the world.' It is difficult to say whether the Tenth Book of the *Rig Veda* is a reflexion of the age of the *Taittiriya Brāhmāna*, yet it is that *Brahmana* that gives an answer for the first time to the inquiry in the passages quoted above.

§9. It may be said generally of the gods of the *Rig Veda* that

1. They are Providence, their succour never fails.
2. They hear and answer prayer.
3. They are benevolent as friends and kinsmen.
4. They keep their worshippers from hurt and harm.
5. They assist in raids and battles.
6. They destroy the enemies of their worshippers and slay the wicked.
7. They grant wealth, longevity and success.
8. They delight in sacrifices.
9. They love the soma drink.
10. They grant forgiveness of sins and spiritual blessings.

§10. There are *special* functions ascribed to particular gods :

¹ *Rig Veda*, x. 81.4. 'That' in x. 120.1 is understood by Sayana to mean *Brahma*.

² ii. 8.9.6.

³ For a somewhat strained derivation and origin of *Brahma* from the Biblical Abraham, see J. M. Kennedy's *Religions and Philosophies of the East*, p. 15.

1. Agni is specially associated with every form of sacrifice. He is the messenger of the gods, the high-priest, invoker, director, presenter, purifier.¹ He is a knower of the law, truthful, whose light has power to chase away sins, and who has power against Varuna's displeasure.²

2. Indra is the high god of battles, the mighty one remembered and invoked by his many deeds of prowess.³ He is the man-slaying hero,⁴ fierce lord of the bay steeds,⁵ the lord of hosts,⁶ specially commemorated as the slayer of Vritra.⁷ The thunder is one of his weapons.⁸

3. Varuna, with Mitra, is the god of Law.⁹ He is the sustainer of the Tree of Life,¹⁰ and possessor of a thousand balms.¹¹ He is the god most associated with mercy and forgiveness of sins.¹² Mitra is always named with Varuna, except in one hymn.¹³

4. Rudra and Vishnu we have already described.¹⁴

5. Brahmanaspati is the god of prayer. He inspires prayer, stirs up thought, gives wisdom to pray aright, and gives efficacy to sacrifice and worship.¹⁵ He presents prayer to the gods.¹⁶ His office is so analogous to Agni's

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 94.6; i. 36.3.5; i. 44.2; i. 12.4; i. 12.10; i. 60.4; i. 26.6; and numerous other places.

² *Ibid.*, i. 97.1; i. 189.1; i. 145.5; i. 128.7.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 32 has a recital of his deeds. Also i. 51.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 32.6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 33.5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 6.8; iii. 54.15

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 4.8. (more than one Vritra), i. 32.5, etc.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 8.3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 2.8; i. 25.7-11.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, i. 24.7.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, i. 24.9.

¹² *Ibid.*, i. 25.3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, iii. 59.

¹⁴ See above, § 8.

¹⁵ *Rig Veda*, i. 18.6 7.8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 40.5.

that the two are sometimes treated as identical.¹ He punishes the man who dislikes prayer.²

6. Pūshan is the god of roads and journeys and his protection is on the way-farer.³ He is goat-borne.⁴

7. Yama was the first to find a way for mortals to the regions of the gods.⁵

8. Tvashtar is the artificer of the gods. He makes for them the ladle for sacrificial use.⁶ Indra's thunderbolts were fashioned by him.⁷ He is also the maker of all forms and all cattle of the field,⁸ and is the wearer of all forms at will.⁹

The gods who correspond to aspects of natural forces and phenomena personified, such as the Sun, the Moon, Lightnings, Storms, the Dawn, have to them ascribed the functions natural to them.

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 38.13; ii. 1.3.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 23.4.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 42.

⁴ See above, ch. iv, § 13.

⁵ See above, ch. i, § 5, note. *Rig Veda*, x. 14.1.2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 20.6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 32.2; i. 61.6; i. 85.9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 188.9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 13.10.

CHAPTER VI

FOREGLEAMS AND THE FULL LIGHT

§1. The influence of the *Rig Veda* has been great from the very first. It has influenced the other Vedas. The other Vedas are greatly dependent on it. The extent of their indebtedness to it is seen by the total of preponderance of verses borrowed from it over the few original compositions.¹ The preponderance is not merely numerical, it is in regard to value also. The quantitative and qualitative excellence is all on the side of the *Rig Veda*. The philosophical passages of the *Rig Veda*, even the early ones containing hints and foreshadowings of the beginnings of a spirit of inquiry, must be held to have put men of the post-Vedic generation on the trail of thought.² In the *Brāhmanas* and the *Upanishads* and the *Forest-Books* men answer, in their own way, often with persistent inconsistency, questions which, they think, the hymns of the *Rig Veda* had merely raised but left unanswered. With the guesses of speculation, often brilliant, they filled the interspace of thought in the simple hymns of the *Rig Veda*—they appealed to the *Rig Veda* with recurrent confidence in its finality and seemed to find in it what seer and singer had

¹ See above, ch. iii, § 11.

² See an instance in ch. v, § 8, *ad fin.* above.

perhaps never dreamed of suggesting. Philosophic Hinduism, however, affects to be the offspring of the *Rig Veda*. It traces its parentage to the antiquity of those hymns.

§2. We have already seen that the presentation of the Godhead in the *Rig Veda* was congenial to the monism of later times.¹ The polyphanic monotheism seemed a fit preparation for pantheistic monism, though the latter need not *necessarily* have been the result of the former. I think that were we in possession of *all* the hymns of the *Rig Veda*—a good many are lost—we should be able to trace the progress of religious thought from the polyphanic monotheism of the *Rig Veda* to the lofty abstractions of the philosophic cults of succeeding ages, the *Brāhmanic* and *Upanishadic* to begin with. There are huge gulfs of thought to be bridged before we can exactly see how from the *Rig Vedic* hymns, where the gods are of almost tangible reality, familiar as friends and close as kinsfolk, there is evolvable the conception of an abstraction, cold, distant, negative, absolute, unfeeling, unsympathetic. From the *Rig Veda* to the Vedānta it is a *leap* from the valley of light and life to the freezing solitudes of the misty mountain top. The contrast is sudden. The transition seems precipitate. In the absence, therefore, of those lost hymns which *might* throw light on the course of thought from the religion of the *Rig Veda* to the 'consolations' of the Vedānta, I am inclined to the belief, against which there is no evidence, that

¹ Above, ch. iv, § 10.

there is a great unfilled gap between the *Vedic* age and the period of the Vedanta, and that, whatever warrant may be claimed from the *Rig Veda* for later tenets, the differences between the Vedanta and the religion of the *Rig Veda* may be accounted for by the hypothesis that the latter is independent of the former.¹ The Vedanta is not the natural sequence of the religion of the *Rig Veda*. So far, however, as pure intellectualism is concerned, the Vedanta may justify its being considered as 'the summit of Indian thought,'² but in regard to spirituality it is a lapse from the *Rig Vedic* religion.

§ 3. On Vedic religion, especially in its possible likeness to Christianity, Dr. Farquhar makes these remarks :—

The religion of the *Rig Veda* is held by no Hindu now. It was transferred, in the course of the subjugation of India, into a very different religion . . . Hindus often speak in high praise of the religion of the *Rig Veda* and there is abundant justification for their doing so. Perhaps they scarcely realize, however, that this early faith stands much nearer to Christianity than it does to Hinduism. A transition from the religion of the *Rik* to Christianity would be much simpler and more natural than a transition to Hinduism.³

This possibility of easy passage from the *Rig Veda* to the religion of Christ has been noticed by thoughtful Indians, and their efforts to arrest so

¹ 'There is throughout the *Brahmanas* such a complete misunderstanding of the original intention of the Vedic hymns that we can hardly understand how such an estrangement could have taken place when there had been at some time or other a sudden and violent break in the chain of tradition.' Max Müller, *A.S.L.*, p. 432.

² Farquhar, *Crown of Hinduism*, ch vi (Heading).

³ *Crown of Hinduism*, p. 76.

natural a sequence have resulted in the Arya Samaj. It was formed in 1875. 'The Arya Samaj tries to solve the religious problems of modern India by going back to the Vedic hymns and refusing to recognize any later religious books as possessing religious authority'.¹ One of the articles of the creed of the Arya Samaj is that the Vedas are the books of true knowledge, and it is the paramount duty of Aryas to read or hear them read, to teach and preach them to others.² To the Samajist the Veda is the very 'eternal word of God,' and 'everything in the Vedas is perfect truth.'³ Of a nature like to the Arya Samaj is the organization known as the Vedic Mission,⁴ a living testimony to the influence of the Vedas.

§4. The influence of the *Rig Veda* is nowhere so markedly noticeable as in the *Saiva Siddhānta*. Whether Śiva be a pre-Vedic Dravidian deity admitted into the *Vedic* pantheon or not, it is clear that many, if not all, the descriptions of him in *Saiva Siddhānta* literature are traceable to the *Rig Veda*.⁵ If they are older than, or coeval with, the *Rig Veda*, they find parallels in the hymns.⁶ It is not in matters of form and surface similarities that the *Siddhānta* is debtor to the *Rig Veda*. We find these outstanding features of the religion of the *Rig Veda* in the *Siddhānta*, in *Tamil literature*:

¹ The Rev. L. P. Larsen, in *The Year Book of Indian Missions*, 1912, p. 81.

² Dr. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, p. 120

³ Max Müller, *Biographical Essays*, p. 170.

⁴ Described in *Modern Religious Movements in India*, p. 135

⁵ See above, ch. v, §8.

⁶ Some are noted in Nalla. *Studies*, p. 112.

1. The personal Reality of God. God is not a 'mere abyss of being'. He is a Person to Whom man speaks as to a friend.

2. The personality of the Individual. The bewildering boldness of the Vedantic 'That Thou Art' is nowhere in the *Rig Veda*. It is not a Siddhānta doctrine. The Siddhānta teaching of assimilation to Godliness, God-becomingness, is not the Vedantic identification of the soul with God.¹

3. Heaven is a mansion. It is the Siddhānta 'Home'.

4. There is Grace, and there is forgiveness of sins. Even when the Siddhānti seems to accept the doctrines of Karma and Transmigration (which are not *Rig Vedic*),² he prays to God for mercy, and for bond-releasing Grace.³

5. The idea of sacrifice. It is present in the Siddhānta as transcended by the offering of one's self in slavery to God, and in the sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving.

6. There is the element of joy. The joy of the Siddhānti in spiritual realization of his highest hopes is almost a passion.

§ 5. Says Dr. Farquhar :

Those who have leaned on animal sacrifice turn with deep religious joy to the perfect moral sacrifice of the death of Christ, once the thirst for a spiritual life has made itself felt. We have seen how for a time men prayed to Varuna, the righteous and omnipotent Lord, the source of rita, i.e. Law, both natural and moral, who punished the guilty and forgave the penitent. This beautiful but short-lived faith finds full justification for itself in the Heavenly

¹ See discussion in *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, pp. 183-190.

² See above, ch. iv, §17.

³ The writings of Saiva Saints Mānickavāchakar, Tāyumanavar, Sundarar, Appar and Sambandar abundantly testify to this. 'Grace' is not mentioned in the *Rig Veda*, but is inferred from prayers for pardon. See below, ch. ix. § 11. The Rev. R. Froelich's article 'South Indian Mysticism and the Gospel' in *The Indian Interpreter*, July, 1912, p. 55, contains many inaccuracies, much that is intolerant, and an un-Christian ascription of the Siddhānta philosophy to 'the Devil's inspiration'.

Father, Whose nature is love and holiness, Whose will is expressed in the regularity and impartiality of nature as well as in the moral law, who gave up His only Son that we might have forgiveness. Further, Christ's doctrine, that those who know the Heavenly Father on earth will spend eternity in close personal fellowship with Him in Heaven, is the direct spiritual culmination of the Vedic faith in one life and one death followed by an immortality of happiness; while transmigration and Karma is an altogether alien conception. Finally, think of the bright, hopeful outlook, the joyful acceptance of the world as good, and the healthy social and family freedom which the Indo-Aryans enjoyed—no caste,¹ no child-marriage, no child-widows, no enforced widowhood, no *sati* ² and no zenana.

How near all this is to the spirit of Christianity. . . . The religion of Christ is the true spiritual crown of the religion of the *Rig Veda*.³

The religion of the *Rig Veda* has tendencies more towards Christianity than towards Hinduism. The same may be said of the Siddhānta in many respects.

In one very important respect the *Rig Veda* reads like the Old Testament, in the office of sacrifice, with a difference, namely, that the *Rig Vedic* sacrifices are less precatory than gratulatory.⁴ The

¹ *Rig Veda*, x. 90.12 is part of a late Brahmanic hymn, possibly an interpolation.

² *Ibid.*, x. 18.7. 'May they first approach the place'—'by the most awful crime in the history of literature this was altered in later times to "may they enter the place of fire".' Clayton, *Rig. Veda*, p. 12.

³ *Crown of Hinduism*, p. 76.

⁴ See above, ch. iv, §§ 11-14. Sacrifice in *Rig Vedic* and later times had one or all of four purposes: (1) As simple thanks-offering, (2) to nourish the gods, (3) to wrest boons from gods and (4) to attain superhuman powers. (Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 22.)

factor of propitiation is gradually evolved. From this point of view it may be that the sacrificial system of the *Rig Veda*, in the main less elaborate than the Levitical, represents a stage of progress in religious thought preparatory to the Jewish. Where, however, we find indications of animal sacrifice and the shedding of blood¹ we may conjecture—

1. That in *Rig Vedic* times, from the first, animal and cereal offerings were concurrently customary, *or*

2. That the cereal system was earlier,² *or*

3. The cereal system was adopted as a substitute for the blood-sacrifices which were reserved for occasions.

Yet there was shedding of blood, and the evolution of the sacrificial idea passes beyond the stages of horse-offering and man-offering³ to the culminating conception of god-sacrifice in the *Purushasukta*⁴ which, despite the well-founded suspicions of its lateness of composition and perhaps even its right to a place in the Canon, is of intense suggestive value—‘the gods prepared the sacrifice with Purusha as their offering,’⁵ and the thinkers of an

¹ See above, ch. iv, § 13.

² See above, ch. iv, § 11.

³ See above, ch. iv, §§ 13–14.

⁴ *Rig Veda*, x. 90. ‘It was one of the easiest conceptions for a body of sacrificing priests to arrive at, that the origin of the world, which their philosophy sought to trace to one source, was to be found in an action by the Creator analogous to the action of sacrifice, and that the sacrifice should be performed on Himself followed essentially from His solitude before creation took effect.’—Professor Keith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 131.

⁵ *Rig Veda*, x. 906. Muir understands (*J.R.A.S.* (N.S.), I. 356 x. 81.5; x. 130.3, as referring to a God offering Himself up in sacrifice.

age not very far removed from that of this hymn read into it the thought, 'The Lord of all creatures gave Himself to the gods and became their sacrifice,'¹ and 'The Lord of all creatures is the sacrifice'.²

The Christian sees here 'a shadow of good things to come,'³ of 'the one sacrifice'⁴ of 'the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.'⁵

§6. Personality⁶ is a great conception of the *Rig Vedic* religion conceived in terms of affirmation,—He is this, He is that, this is He, that is He,—affording no warrant for the later principles of the process of negation.⁷ God is, moreover, thought of as existing not in fruitless repression but in prolific expression—so prolific, indeed, in all the varieties and vicissitudes of creation that, often and often, His manifestations of Himself in the sphere of phenomena have been looked upon by the awed consciousness of finite man as verily He. The arresting charm of the idea of personality, human and divine, in the *Rig Veda* lies in its being set in an environment of simplicity and naturalness quite in contrast to the unsatisfying guesses of the age of acute thinkers. The words of Dr. Cuthbert

¹ *Satapatha Brahmana*, xi. 1.8.2. Cf. *Ibid.* xiii. 7.1.1.

² *Ibid.*, xiv. 12.18.

³ Heb. x. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, x. 12.

⁵ Rev. xiii. 8. The *will* to sacrifice existed from eternity. 'Then said I, Lo I come to do Thy will.' (Heb. x. 7, 9). See above, ch. i, § 6.

⁶ See below, ch. ix, § 10.

⁷ The eliminatory description of God, 'Not this,' 'not that'. See *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, iv. 4.22.

Hall, in a different context, may be apposite here :

The nature of man craves as an object of worship and as a source of spiritual help that with which the correspondence of personality, theoretically at least, is possible. I desire to be understood as referring with respect to Hindu deities and as recognizing that, in the theological systems of Hinduism, those deities are resolved into modes of the One, Supreme, Unqualified Brahman. Nevertheless, that they should assume the importance accorded to them in the religious life of the people, that in the philosophy of Hinduism there should be schools affirming the personality of Deity, seems to be an involuntary attestation of the fact that the deepest hunger in the soul of man is for a God that can be conceived in terms of personality. . . . From the point of view of Christianity the individuality of God carries with it as a logical necessity the individuality of man.¹

§7. Elsewhere have already been given some reasons² for the opinion that the *Rig Veda* sets forth monotheism, though it is not like the monotheism of the Bible.³ It is noteworthy that although there is a great deal of personification and anthropomorphism in the hymns, just as there is in the Old Testament, there is yet no evidence that there were in use in the age of those hymns any picture, representation, symbol or image of any god or of God. The *Rig Veda* in this respect belongs to an antiquity anterior to the period when the greatest of

¹ *Barrows Lectures*, 1902-3, pp. 389. See below, ch. ix. § 10 on a personal God.

² See above, ch. iv, §§ 4, 8.

³ See above, ch. iv, § 7, *ad fin.* Cf. on God in the Bible not being a tribal God, the most recent Jewish support, Zangwill's *Chosen Peoples*, ch. iii.

the Semitic races stood in constant need of warnings and threats against a tendency to idolatry. It is strong proof of the lofty conception the early Vedic men had of God that they did not, despite personification and anthropomorphism, set up anything purporting to be a likeness or similitude of Deity. This is all the more remarkable when we remember that, like those who 'sacrificed unto their net and burnt incense unto their drag,'¹ they shared their worship of God with adoration of plants, mountains, rivers, tools of trade and implements of war.² Thus argument in *favour* of the early Indo-Aryan, based on his resisting the temptation thus so very near to him to idolatry, is no doubt capable of being pressed into a suggestion of the high probability of his having set up images of the Deity. Perhaps considerations like these have led to conflicting opinions as to whether or no the Vedic Aryans used idols. A fact in favour of the view that the early Vedic people did not have images or temples is the circumstance that the gods³ are comprehended as always being with them in converse and communion, ever near, close at hand to succour. They needed no substitutes for the gods. Such substitutes, one may safely assume, would be needed only when such nearness had become less and less, and men began to think of God as inaccessibly distant and inconceivably vague. Idolatry has always had its origins in want of faith, such faith as could see

¹ Habakuk i. 16.

² See above, ch. iv, § 3.

³ The use of the term 'gods' here, and in some other places, is without prejudice to what has been said on Monotheism in ch. iv.

further than with eyes of flesh, and to which heaven is within hand-reach. Professor Macdonell gives a less ethical reason for the absence of idolatry in the *Rig Vedic* age :

Since the outward shape of the gods was thus vaguely conceived, while their connection with natural phenomena was in many instances still evident, it is easy to understand why no mention is made in the *Rig Veda* of images of the gods, still less of temples, which imply the existence of images. Idols first began to be referred to in the *Sutras*.¹

This was written in 1900 and repeated in the edition of 1913. More recently, after disposing of various objections taken to his views, he has found no reason to change his earlier opinion. He writes in 1917 :²

1. In the earlier Vedic period the gods were conceived as vaguely anthropomorphic in outward shape and were not yet iconographically represented.

2. Images of the gods began to be made in the latest Vedic period, from about the fourth century B.C.

3. From about the middle of first century A.C. gods began to be represented with four arms on Indian coins.

Contrary views are advocated by Indian scholars. Mr. Srinivas Iyengar in his pithy little book, to which I have made previous reference, makes mention of the making of an image of Indra in the *Santramani* ceremony as described in literature later than the *Rig Veda*, and concludes, ' It has been remarked by some scholars that idolatry did not exist in the Vedic age, but there is little to

¹ *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 72. So also Max Müller, *Chips*, i. 35.

² *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1917, p. 602. See *J.R.A.S.*, January, 1916, pp. 125-30.

distinguish the above from *modern Hindu idolatry*.¹ Of more direct bearing on the absence or presence of idols and temples in the *age of the Rig Veda*, whatever might have been the case *later*, is the contention of Prof. Venkateswara² that the statement that 'literary evidence indicates that regular images of gods were not made till the latest Vedic period'³ is capable of qualification by texts from the *Rig Veda*. He quotes two⁴ and relies on Sayana's interpretation of the first, at the same time admitting the possibility 'that the scholiast may have projected into the Vedic age the ideas and institutions of his own time.'⁵ Mr. Gopinath Rao, in his learned and interesting work, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, touches on this subject without expressing an opinion.⁶ Dr. Farquhar seems to think that the practice of having idols originated shortly before the final redaction of the *Rik*.⁷ With all deference to contrary opinion, the present writer fails to see that a *prima facie* case has been made out for the view that idols or temples existed in the age of the *Rig Veda*. His impression seems

¹ *Life in Ancient India*, p. 117.

² *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1917, p. 587, in reply to Prof. Macdonell in *J.R.A.S.*, January, 1916, pp. 125-30.

³ Prof. Macdonell's, *J.R.A.S.*, 1916, p. 125-130.

⁴ *Rig Veda*, i. 21.3 and viii. 59.12 (viii. 69 is a misprint both in his article and Prof. Macdonell's reply).

⁵ *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1917, p. 587. 'Sayana gives the traditional, but not the original sense of the Vedic hymns' (Max Müller, *Rig Veda*, iii, Preface).

⁶ Vol. i, Introduction, p. 4. He quotes Dr. Bollenson's (*J.G.O.S.* xxii. 587) inference from *Rig Veda*, 3.4.5 'having the form of men' in favour of images being in use in *Rig Vedic* times.

⁷ *Crown of Hinduism*, pp. 303-4.

strengthened by the fact, by itself not of great value, but of some with reasons already given, that no idol or temple of the *Rig Vedic* age has yet been discovered. In this respect of not employing images to represent Deity, the religion of the *Rig Veda* has affinities with Judaism and Christianity.

§8. The Siddhānta, whether or no it had its origins in the *Rig Veda*, has marks of its influence on it.¹ As a system of philosophy it is the one in India which approaches Christianity most nearly. One of its highest tenets, expressed in terms safeguarding it against Vedantic excesses, is the soul's inherent longing for nearness to God, leading up to assimilation. This is assimilation in character, not absorption into the Essence of the Godhead. 'The soul cannot become God, and God cannot become the soul. God is one and different from the soul.'² Now, this is not expressly taught in the *Rig Veda*. It is, however, there, not as an article of a philosophical creed but as a consciousness translated into the actualities of daily life. It is implied in the *Rig Vedic* man's realization of God, dim though such realization was in that early part of the long ages of preparation for the fullness of the Light of the Day-Spring from on high.³

The Vedic men, for all that, whatever they lacked in point of deeper illumination, realized God, else

¹ See above, §4. Some scholars think that the *Svetasvatara Upanishad* is the foundation of the *Saiva Siddhānta* (see Nallasamy Pillai, *Siddhiar*, Introduction, p. xiii).

² *Siddhiar*, 3.2.3.

³ St. Luke i. 78.

God had indeed left Himself without a witness.¹ God to Vedic man was Friend, was Kinsman.² Man so called Him, and if only we had in words of that age of closeness to God all the thoughts and feelings that must have preceded and prepared the *Rig Vedic* mind to evolve, and formulate, these conceptions of Deity as 'Friend' and 'Kinsman', we should be able to possess in the pricelessness of simple, primitive language the earliest evidences of Mysticism. To *Rig Vedic* man God was familiar as a Friend,³ close as a Kinsman, and in his trustful, child-wise prayers for being with God after this life in the mansions on high, he gives expression to the human soul's eternal longing God-ward. Man and God, Friends and Kinsmen in the earth-life, are not to be aliens and estranged in the spirit-life. For the relationship to subsist in the spirit-life, however, it has to be begun in the earth-life. So the *Rig Veda* implies. The *Rig Vedic* conceptions of God as Friend and Kinsman yield themselves to such expansiveness of thought as pushes us into the very heart of Mysticism. We would be lacking, if not in vision, at least in sympathetic insight, were we to fail to see in the *Rig Vedic* Aryan's realization of God, and his longing for union⁴ with God, all allowance being made for his many strayings into ill-lit side-tracks, foregleams of that Light that

¹ Acts xiv. 17. See above, ch. i, §2.

² See above, ch. v, §3. *Rig Veda*, x. 85.45, 'Be our very nearest Friend.'

³ Cf. Ex. xxxiii. 11. 2 Chr. xx. Isaiah lxi. 8. S. James ii. 23.

⁴ *Rig Veda*, vii. 86.2, 'With mine own heart I commune how Varuna and I may be united.'

guides the seeker to that mystical Fulness touched but on the outskirts by even the Siddhānta.

§9. In a Siddhānta scripture it is declared :—

If God did not, out of His Supreme Grace, assume forms, there would be nobody who could give out Vedas and Agamas, and there would be nobody who could impart instruction in the form of the Guru to the devas, men, and the residents of the nether regions, and so nobody could secure salvation.¹

A devout Saivite scholar writes :—

Unless God comes down to us as the Son of Man, our redemption is not possible . . . In the Saiva Siddhānta God reveals Himself as Son and Guru, to each in his own fulness of time. Unless God comes down as Man and Guru, and touches man with His grace, he cannot attain salvation.²

These passages refer to God assuming *forms*, but not subjecting Himself to the limitations of birth and physical development. Hence, this conception of God becoming man, for man's salvation, while fundamentally different in content from the Christian doctrine of Incarnation, is substantially in accord with inferences from theophanic facts of which evidence is furnished in the *Rig Veda*. The gods in the hymns are guests³ of men, invited with insistency to the feasts on the grass.⁴ The gods walked with men and moved among men so closely and so familiarly that though their home was in heaven they yet had their dwelling-place on earth.⁵

¹ *Siddhiar*, 3, 1.46.

² Nallasamy Pillai, *Siddhanta Studies*, p. 355. On Siddhanta and the Incarnation, see *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, Introduction, part vii.

³ See ch. v, §4 end, and notes 7, 8 and 9 on p. 102.

⁴ *Rig Veda*, i. 12.2.3 ; i. 13.5.9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 139.10.

The gods were seen¹ and spoken to as men. The *Rig Vedic* appearances of the gods to men in personal relationship, in contrast to their manifestations in the forces of nature, afford materials for comparison with the appearances of God in the Old Testament.² Even if all the *Rig Vedic* appearances of the gods among men are not in their nature as theophanic as in the Bible, yet I should hesitate much before asserting with sureness that God did not indeed show Himself in His own way and manner to the humble men of the *Rig Vedic* age, for such positiveness must imply that God who, in the plane of history, brought Israel out of Egypt, the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians out of Kir³ is a tribal divinity, a parochial providence. That God did indeed manifest Himself in some way to the men of the childhood of the world heightens the significance and value of the richness of the revelation of Him in Christ Jesus.⁴ The Siddhanta conception of God as the *Guru*, the Divine Teacher, while having affinities with the *Rig Vedic* idea principally in respect of the factor of *forms assumed*, is a considerable step in advance of the revelation to rishis to whom God as a teacher of salvation was not known.⁵ Thus, the imperfection of the *Rig Vedic* ideals was a stage in

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 6.7, 'Mayest Thou be verily seen coming by fearless Indra's side.'

² See above, ch. iv, §4

³ Amos ix. 7.

⁴ Heb. i. 1.

⁵ The inquiry as to the source of the Siddhanta conception outside the *Rig Veda* is not pursued here. See below, ch. ix, § 10.

the progressiveness of revelation, as even indeed the Siddhanta, with its brilliant guesses, is. The way to the great Guru, who alone has the words of eternal life,¹ is elsewhere. His claim is paramount: 'I am the Way and the Truth, and the Life; no man cometh unto the Father but by Me.'²

¹ St. John vi. 68.

² *Ibid.*, xiv. 6. See below, ch. ix, § 12 on this text and the claims of Krishna.

CHAPTER VII

COLOUR AND LIGHT

§1. In the *Rig Veda* we see the poet fast developing into the priest. The hymn of his making was oftener than not a *prayer*, in Sanscrit *brahman*,¹ and the prayer-maker was sometimes known as *brāhman*.²

The term *brāhman* must have been originally applied to the devout worshippers and contemplative sages who composed prayers and hymns. . . . Afterwards when the ceremonial gradually became more complicated, and a division of sacred functions took place, the word was more ordinarily employed for a minister of public worship and at length came to signify one particular kind of priest with special duties.³

The priest proper, *brahman*, was the highest of a number of ministers officiating together at a sacrifice. In a passage in which Agni is supposed to be all the principal ministers in one, some of the various offices are indicated :

Thine Agni is the office of *hotri*, thine the regulated office of *potri*, thine the office of *neshtri*, thou art the

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 37.4; viii. 32.27; vi. 69.7; v. 2.11; i. 3.5. See Muir, *J.R.A.S.* ii. (N.S.) 258. Macdonald, *Brahmanas*, ch. i. Poet and priest are distinguished in *Rig Veda*, viii. 16.7; x. 107.6; i. 10.1.

² Muir, *J.R.A.S.* ii. (N.S.) 260-2, cites *Rig Veda*, i. 80.1; i. 164.34; ii. 12.6; x. 85.3, and other texts.

³ Muir, *J.R.A.S.* ii. (N.S.) 261.

agnidk of the pious man, thine is the office of *prasastrī*, thou officiatest as *adhvaryu*, thou art the *brahman*.¹

Whether or no at first the priests were chosen out of any particular section of the people, or were members of the family or tribe which had supplied the community with priests, or sometimes members of the ruling class combining in them priestly and kingly functions, it is clear that we have in the *Rig Veda* evidences of an elaborate ritual conducted by an organized priesthood. The difficulty, undoubtedly, is great in assigning some of the hymns in proof of this proposition to their proper age.² Nevertheless we find in the *Rig Veda* sufficient material from which to infer about the *brahman* (priest) his recognition of importance in *Rig Vedic* society.

§2. We infer that, by either reciting other people's literary compositions or producing prayers himself, the *brahman* made himself great in utterance. He was master of speech. 'Speech has been measured out in four divisions, the *brahman*s who have understanding know them.'³ 'I ask of highest heaven where speech abideth.'⁴ 'Better the

¹ *Rig Veda*, ii. 1.2. Cf. ii. 37. *Hotri*, invoker; *potri*, cleanser; *neshtri*, leads forward the wife of the sacrificer; *agnidk*, kindles sacrificial fire; *prasastrī*, assistant of *hotri*; *adhvaryu*, builds altar and makes preparations; *brahman*, praying priest. In *Rig Veda*, i. 94. 6, *Agni* is called also *purohita*, an important minister, a sort of family chaplain who gradually obtained secular influence. (Max Müller, *A.S.L.*, p. 485). See below, § 5. The ministers are sixteen at a sacrifice. Cf. *Rig Veda*, ii. 36 and 37; ii. 43. 1.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 1.2; iv. 9.3; i. 162.5; ii. 36; ii. 37; ii. 43, are with x. 52.2 and x. 12. 4.1 assigned by Dr. Muir (*J.R.A.S.* ii. (N.S.) 278) to the later years of the Vedic era. It is submitted that this may be correct only as to x. 52 and x. 124.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 164.45.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 164.34.35.

speaking than the silent brahman.'¹ The merely wordy *brahman*, a product of the importance given to speech, did not escape censorious notice.² This gift of speech, so carefully cultivated as to make the brahmans pre-eminent, seems sometimes to have provoked the satirical reproach of an early Aristophanes who calls the brahmans frogs.³ 'The brahmans who fulfil their vows, the frogs have lifted up their voice.' They were singers⁴ of their own hymns perhaps, and certainly of those of others. The act of singing as part of the priestly office in which he was assisted by minor chanters⁵ afforded, without a doubt, facilities for a learned priest gradually to supersede the poet as hymn-maker, without, possibly, not interfering with him as *rishi*, the seer. As, however, the *Rig Vedic* age drew towards its close, it is conceivable that seer-ship was fast disappearing, and brahmanic supremacy rapidly gaining ground. Perhaps even in the Tenth Book we already have traces of this change.⁶

§3. The *Rig Veda* speaks of the brahman as a man of learning and attainments,⁷ that is the

¹ *Rig Veda*, x. 117.7.

² *Ibid.*, x. 71.8.9.11.

³ *Ibid.*, vii. 103. Max Müller, *A.S.L.*, p. 494.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 43.2, 'chanter-priest' v. 31.4. Sayana explains 'brahmans' here as referring to Maruts or Angirases. Even if so, the Maruts are compared to 'singing brahmans'.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 43.1.

⁶ Speech was discovered to be the possession of inspired *rishis*, poet-seers, and the brahmans 'drew her out and dealt her forth in many places'. (*Rig Veda*, x. 71.3).

⁷ *Rig Veda*, x. 71.8.

really able brahman in contrast to the pretender.¹ He is skilled in highest truth and in esoteric learning.² Among the sixteen classes of priests, the brahman is the ultimate authority on ritual. He is the corrector.³ All priests were not learned, nor were all singers.⁴ It is conceivable how readily the brahmans, with the people's faith in them, used their indispensableness in the religious rites, and their credit for learning, as means for making themselves most important and influential. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the brahman is invested with intercessory powers. His prayers keep alive a whole race,⁵ give freedom,⁶ persuade Indra to grant success,⁷ and the service of the priest is effectual in war.⁸ Either as physicians or by their prayers the brahmans were sometimes believed to save from death,⁹ and they were able to declare the science of 'being'.¹⁰

§4. The brahmans first formed a profession before they became a caste. Already in the *Rig Veda* we see their growing importance as men of learning, masters of ritual, makers of prayers and

¹ *Rig Veda*, x. 71.8, 'Some who count as brahmans'.

² *Ibid.*, i. 164.45 ; x. 85.6.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 13.3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 50.9 ; x. 71.8.9 ; i. 164.45.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii. 53.12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 2.6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vii. 33.3.5. 'Indra heard Vasishta and gave ample room and freedom.'

⁸ *Ibid.*, vii. 83.4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, x. 97.22.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, x. 71.11.

healers of the sick.¹ It was but natural that men combining in one such varied offices as those of priest, poet, doctor, and gradually recognized as standing between man and the gods, should be looked upon as worthy of great rewards and high privileges. The *Rig Veda* has many references to rewards to priests, and contains eulogies, *dānashruti*, on princely givers. Two hundred cows, chariots and horses are mentioned once.² A brahman devotes four verses to the praise of 'the free-handed giver of the ruddy steed'.³ The giver of 'a hundred head of buffaloes and ten thousand kine' is heartily praised by another,⁴ and so another celebrates the greatness of the giver of 'a gift of gold pure, brilliant, exceedingly great, beside a thousand spotted kine, kine decked with golden ornaments.'⁵ The brahmins were not a celibate clergy. It is possible to guess from the *Rig Veda* itself that the laity of that age, while they were willing to accord the brahman honour for his many attainments and reward for his many services, did not hesitate to look upon a brahman's wife as an irrelevant factor, so far as her husband's spiritual calling was concerned, and consequently cast covetous eyes on her. It was

¹ See above, §3.

² *Rig Veda*, vii. 18, 22.23.

³ *Ibid.*, viii. 3.21-24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 5.37.

⁵ *Ibid.*, viii. 54.10.11. This and the other three passages do not definitely say that brahmins are the receivers, but they imply it. See *Rig Veda*, iv. 50.10, where certain gods are praised as 'rainers of treasure' by a singer who in verses 8 and 9 extols a king who favours brahmins. The hymn belongs to an age of the beginning of brahmanic ascendancy.

necessary, therefore, to hedge her in with divinity. Hence antiquity was invoked in aid of the priest's wife, 'Those ancient deities, the rishis, who sat down to perform austerities spoke thus of her, "Terrible is the wife of the brahman; when approached she plants confusion in the highest heaven"'.¹ One may read much into a statement such as this :

Kings performing righteousness gave back the brahman's wife. Giving back the brahman's wife, freeing themselves from sin against the gods, kings enjoy the abundance of the earth, and possess a free range of movement.²

In later writings in proportion to the highly developed importance of the brahman was the inviolability of his wife.³

§ 5. The importance of the brahman was by no circumstance so enhanced as by his being hereditary domestic chaplain, *purohita*, in the households of chiefs and kings :

That king withstands his enemies with strong power who supports a Brihaspati⁴ in comfort, praises him and honours him as the first.

The king before whom there walks a priest, lives well established in his own house, to whom the earth yields for ever, and before him the people bow of their own accord. Unopposed he conquers treasures, those of his enemies and his friends, who makes presents to a brahman. The gods protect him.⁵

¹ *Rig Veda*, x. 109.1.

² *Ibid.*, x. 109.6.7.

³ *Atharva Veda*, v. 17.4.7,12, 'That kingdom is cursed which holds captive a brahman's wife.' Cf. Gen. xx. 17, 18.

⁴ This means 'a brahman' here. As Brihaspati was chaplain of the gods, so brahmans were chaplains of kings.

⁵ *Rig Veda*, iv. 50. 7-9. Max Müller, *A.S.L.*, 487.488

The office of *purohita*, existing from very early times,¹ made the priest not merely a domestic chaplain but 'friend and counsellor of a chief, the minister of a king, and his companion in peace and war.'² The brahman thus secured not only spiritual precedence, but political power. In one of the two oldest appendices to the Vedas, the two Brahmanas³ of the *Rig Veda* is evidence of the speedy recognition, since the close of the *Rig Vedic* canon, of the growing supremacy of the brahman :

Breath does not leave him before time ; he lives to an old age ; he goes to his full age, and does not die again, *who has a brahman as guardian of his land, as purohita*. He conquers power by power, obtains strength by strength ; the people obey him, peaceful and of one mind.⁴

The brahman's position has been always one of importance from the first in varying degrees of influence. He was a great factor in the spread of early Aryan civilization among non-Aryans from the time of the coming of the Vedic Aryans into India :

Had the brahmans not come also, the Aryan conquerors being few must have been speedily absorbed. It was the brahman who brought with him Aryan civilization and traditions and introduced the institution of caste : brahman missionaries paved the way, brahmans accompanied the conquerors, brahmans converted Dravidian potentates and enabled them to inter-marry with the high-born Aryans. The Aryan spirit was kept alive by the brahman, who owed everything to his Aryan heritage and not by the exogamous semi-Aryan semi-Dravidian military chief. But without the protection of the chief the brahman

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 94.6 ; i. 102.8. Max Müller, *A.S.L.*, 486.

² *A.S.L.*, p. 485.

³ See above, ch. ii, § 7.

⁴ *Aitareya Brahmana*, vii. See *Rig Veda*, iv. 50.8.9.

was powerless, and it was not the brahman's 'peaceful penetration' but the military exploits of the chief that enthralled the popular imagination. Every nation has its Pandavas, its Rolands, and its Arthurs.¹

§ 6. Considering the gradual ascendancy of brahman power we are not surprised to find, in literature later than the *Rig Veda*, such a statement as this :

There are two kinds of gods. There are the gods proper, and those brahmans who have the *Vedic* tradition and are learned are the human gods. The worship of these is divided into two kinds. Oblations constitute the worship offered to the gods, and presents that offered to the human gods, the brahmans, who possess the Vedic tradition and are learned. It is with oblations that a man gratifies the gods, and with presents that he gratifies the human gods, the brahmans who possess the Vedic tradition and are learned. Both these kinds of gods, when gratified, convey him to the heavenly world.²

By the time of this writing the brahmans had certainly become an exclusive community. Dr. Muir urges on good grounds that those who officiated as *brahmans*, in the *Rig Vedic* and immediately following ages, were not always of any one section of the people. Just as at first anyone might be a singer of a hymn, from a corn-grinder's son³ to a member of the ruling class,⁴ and sometimes females,⁵ the poet-seers were also *brahmans*,

¹ J. Kennedy, *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1915, p. 516.

² *Satapatha Brahmana*, iv. 3.4.4 ; ii. 2.2.6.

³ 'I am a poet, my father a physician, my mother a grinder of corn.' (*Rig Veda*, ix. 112.3.)

⁴ *Rig Veda*, i. 100 ; iv. 42 ; v. 27 ; iv. 43 and some hymns in *Rig Veda* x. are ascribed by tradition to royal personages. Muir, *J.R.A.S.* i. (N.S.) 284-5. *Sanskrit Texts*, i. 86, 151. Cf. *Rig Veda*, iii. 53 ; x. 98 for royal *priests*.

⁵ *R.V.*, i. 126 ; i. 179 ; v. 28.

(makers of prayers, *brahmans*¹) they were the early priests. Gradually, in part no doubt by the division of labour consequent on Aryan expansion, and in part by reason of the subtle influence of the priests forming themselves into a *profession*,² the brahmans kept themselves aloof from men pursuing other vocations. This aloofness was purely professional. There was no barrier to free social intercourse. The brahman, as evidenced by post-*Rik* records, could take a wife from outside the priestly class, or any one's widow,³ and, as attested by the *Rig Veda*, was free to take back his seduced wife.⁴ Inter-marriage of brahmans with women of a lower social status was permitted to brahmans in the age when 'caste' had fully developed, only the penalty fell on the unfortunate offspring of such unions.⁵

§ 7. In considering the origins of caste as an element of social exclusiveness and isolation regard must be had to the existence, very early in the *Rig Vedic* age, of various occupations. In addition to the priests and the poets there were warriors,⁶ trained charioteers,⁷ sailors,⁸ farmers,⁹

¹ See above, § 1.

² 'The carpenter looks for something broken, the doctor for a patient, and the brahman for some one to offer oblations.' *Rig Veda* ix. 112.1.

³ *Atharva Veda* v. 17.8. Cf. *Satapatha Brahmana*, iv. 1.5.1, etc.

⁴ *Rig Veda* x. 109.6.

⁵ *Manu*, ix. 149.151.

⁶ *Rig Veda*, i. 92.1 and other places.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vi. 46.13.14.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 116.5; i. 48.3; i. 56.2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, viii. 20.9; iii. 45.3; i. 9.8; x. 101.3.4.5, etc.

cowherds,¹ weavers,² carpenters,³ blacksmiths,⁴ goldsmiths,⁵ physicians,⁶ workers in leather,⁷ and men following other callings. It is conceivable that one man did not do another man's work, and groups and classes of men doing a particular kind of work were distinct from other groups and classes doing other kinds of work. Division of labour was a determining factor in the beginnings of caste. Even in an old text⁸ supposed to suggest the four castes—Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, Sudras—we detect the basic idea of occupation :

One to high sway, one to exalted glory, one to pursue his gain, and one his labour.

All to regard their different vocations, all moving creatures hath the Dawn awakened.

This passage, without any reference to caste-distinctions, may be a mere parallel to the Biblical :

The sun ariseth . . . man goeth forth to his work and to his labour.⁹

The *Rig Vedic* passage, mostly relied on in proof of caste, is in the *Purushasūkta*, which ascribes all creation to various parts of Purusha, and states :

The Brahman was his mouth, of both his arms was the Rajanya made.

His thighs became the Vaisya, and from his feet the Sudra was produced.¹⁰

¹ *Rig Veda*, vi. 53.9, etc.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 3.6, vi. 9.2.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 130.6, i. 105.18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, x. 72.2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ix. 112.2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, x. 60.12 ; surgeons, *Rig Veda*, viii. 1.12.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 191.10, vi. 75.14.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 113.6 possibly according to Griffith, *Rig Veda*, Vol. i., p. 150 an interpolation.

⁹ *Psalms*, civ. 22-23.

¹⁰ *Rig Veda*, x. 90.12. Same as in *Manu*, i. 131.

Against this being an evidence for the *early* existence of four castes, Dr. Muir urges :

It seems at first sight to prove the existence of a belief in the separate creation of the four castes at the time when it was composed. A careful examination of the context in which these verses are found, or even of the verses themselves will, however, I think, lead to the conclusion that the representation is allegorical and implies no opinions regarding the literal origination of the four classes. It is not even said that the Brahman was produced from the mouth, the Rajanya from the arms, or the Vaisya from the thighs of Purusha ; but that these classes formed respectively those members of his body. It is the Sudra alone who is asserted to have sprung from the part of the body with which he is associated—the feet. It is further to be noticed that as this hymn probably belongs to the close of the Vedic Age, no conclusion can, or any interpretation of its meaning, be drawn from it in regard to the opinion regarding the different classes which prevailed in the earlier portion of that era.¹

However this may be, the passage commented on is clear evidence that before the time of its composition the idea of a four-fold division of Aryans had been clearly established, and that idea was based on the principle of apportionment of labour—the priests, the royal and warrior class, the agricultural and commercial class, and the serving class. This caste division was only of the Aryans,² for the Aryans had nothing to do with the non-Aryans of India, the non-Aryans could not be priests of the Aryans, or princes, or warriors, or agriculturists or servants. To the Aryan the

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, ii. (N.S.) 282.

² See below §8 and passage quoted (*Moksha Dharma*, c. 188).

non-Aryan was riteless,¹ lawless,² and the gods are to 'discern well between Aryas and Dasyas.'³

The non-Aryans are foes of 'the pious Aryan tribes.'⁴ The numerous references in the *Rig Veda* to men riteless, lawless, fireless, unsacrificing, prayerless and priestless⁵ cannot be taken to apply to non-conformists among the Aryans but rather to non-Aryan tribes, who had their own 'distant dwellings,' 'strong forts,' and 'armies,' and 'kings.'⁶ It is no more conceivable that these two peoples with whom there was perpetual warfare formed but one race with different cults,⁷ than that the Edomites of the Bible formed a section of the Israelites. To suppose, on the other hand, that the non-Aryans were gradually subdued by the Aryas, made captives and became the fourth

¹ *Rig Veda*, i. 33.4.

² *Ibid.*, i. 51.8.9., i. 175.3.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 51.8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 77.3, i. 78.4.

⁵ E.g. *Rig Veda*, i. 132.4, v. 42.9, viii. 59.11, i. 131.4, iv. 16.9, v. 42.9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 103.3, x. 99.3, i. 176.4, i. 33.13, viii. 17.14, iv. 30.20, vii. 5.3. See *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, pp. x-xiii.

⁷ As Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar (*L.A.I.*, p. 11) thinks. On the prevalent view, for which the evidence is certainly scanty, that the non-Aryans of the *Rig Vedic* Age were black in colour, the learned author properly observes 'On these passages (*Rig Veda*, i. 101.1, i. 130.8, ii. 20.7, iv. 16.13, viii. 62.8, viii. 85.15, ix. 41.1, vii. 5.3, ix. 73.5) all of doubtful import is based the far-reaching theory of the white "Aryan race" displacing the black Dasyu races of India'! (*L.A.I.*, p. 10). Mr. Baij Nath (*Hinduism*, p. 38) favours the colour view, 'The only division of castes, properly so-called, known in the Vedic times, was the division between the white-skinned Aryans and the dark-skinned aborigines.' Some interesting comments on pre-Aryan civilization in India are made by Pandit D. Savariroyan in *The Tamilian Antiquary*, i. pp. 23-26, also in the article by Mr. V. J. Tamby Pillai in the same volume mispagged 21-32, on 'The Origin of the word Arya,' and in Mr. Senathi Raja's contribution 'Glimpses of Ancient Dravidians' in the 1909 volume.

caste, the *Sudras* (servers), is to bring down the institution of caste to long, long after the age of the Tenth Book of the *Rig Veda*, for even towards the very close¹ of that book the non-Aryans are named as foes, and therefore unconquered as a class, nor subjugated, nor made servers, *Sudras*.

§ 8. The fact that the word for 'caste' in the *Rig Veda* is *varna*, meaning 'colour,' may justify, with other evidence if available, the suggestion that *white* and *non-white* were the original 'castes.' But such other evidence as is desirable is not at all forthcoming, and, from the existence of more than two castes, even as late as the time of the *Purushasūkta*, one must infer that the original signification of 'caste' as 'colour' had disappeared long before that time and the word, *varna*, had come to denote class-divisions, for it is absurd to suppose that Brahmins were of one colour, the Kshatriyas of another, the Vaisyas of a third, and the *Sudras* of a fourth. According to the view advocated in the next preceding section all the four classes mentioned in the *Rig Veda* must have been classes of the Aryan community, dividing itself into various departments of labour and activity so as best to carry on the work of the whole. Upon this view of caste, the *Sudras* were the servant-class in and of the Aryan community. It is unreasonable to suppose, in the absence of proof of the complete subjugation of the non-Aryan tribes before the closing hymn of the *Rig Veda*, that the non-Aryan contemporaries of the Aryans

¹ *Rig Veda*, x, 170.20.

of the age of the *Purushasūkta*¹ constituted the class of serving men, Sudras.

§ 9. Whether on a basis of colour, or otherwise, the institution of caste seems to have been developed into a system for setting up the supremacy of the Brahman, and caste began to be worked into Brahmanic eschatology. Thus the *Chandogya Upanishad* :

Those whose conduct have been good here will quickly attain some good birth—the birth of a Brahman, the birth of a Kshattriya, or the birth of a Vaisya. And those whose conduct has been bad will quickly attain some evil birth—the birth of a dog, the birth of a hog, or the birth of a chandala.²

In the glorification of the Brahmana a step in advance is taken in the *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad* :

Brahma appeared as Kshatra, Vis and Sudra. Brahma was in the form of Agni among the gods ; among men as a Brahman ; as a Kshattriya, by means of the [Divine] Kshattriya ; as a Vaisya by means of the [Divine] Vaisya ; as a Sudra, by means of the [Divine] Sudra. Therefore among the gods heaven is desired through Agni only ; among men through the Brahmans because in their forms Brahma [God] became manifest.³

¹ In the *Satapatha Brahmana*, ii, 1.4.11 Prajapati is said to have created *three* classes of men, no mention is made of Sudras. One may suspect that the *Purushasūkta* of the *Rig Veda*, so like in the caste verse to *Manu*, i, 31, is latter than the *Satapatha Brahmana*, ii, 1.4.2.

² *Chandogya Upanishad*, v, 10.7. Unless *Chandala* means a Sudra here too there is no reference to Sudras, not directly, but perhaps indirectly, since a *chandala* was the issue of the union of a Brahmana and a Sudra. Garbe, *Philosophy of Ancient India*, p. 63, thinks the Sudras were non-Aryans.

³ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, i, 4.15.

It is when we reach the era of the *Institutes of Manu* that the importance of the Brahman and his claims are stated at their highest :

Man is said to be purer above the navel ; hence the self-existent declared the purest part of him to be his mouth. Since the Brahmins sprang from that most excellent part ; since he was first born ; and since he possesses the Veda, he is by right the lord of all creation. . . . What being can surpass him by whose mouth the Gods and the Fathers eat offerings ? . . . When a Brahman is born he is the highest in the world, the lord of all creatures.¹

One is not sure that the extravagantly lofty claims of the Brahman were readily conceded at all times by others. The very privileges detailed in *Manu* (see next section) would seem to suggest that their enunciation was necessitated by doubts of, and resistance to, Brahmanic assertions. At any rate in the Epic period revolutionary views appear to have been held as due perhaps to a reaction against the pretensions of the priesthood. Thus, we read in the *Mahabharata* :

There is really no distinction between the four orders. The whole world at first consisted of Brahmins. Created equal by Brahma [God] men have, in consequence of their acts, become distributed into different orders. . . . Separated by their occupations the Brahmins became members of the other three orders.²

¹ *Manu*, i. 92, 93, 95, 99. Mr. Venkata Ratnam's booklet on *The Hebrew Origin of the Brahmins* (Madras, 1901) overlooks the fact that between the claims of the Mosaic priesthood and those of the Brahmanic there is no similarity.

² *Moksha Dharma*, c. 188.

That occupations fixed the four castes is clearly stated in the *Bhagavad Gita* :

The four castes were created by Me according to the orders of moods and works.¹

This is amplified in the *Mahabharata* :

The Brahmans who had the moods of Rajas became Kshattriyas. Those Brahmans who took to the practice of rearing cattle and attending to agriculture became Vaisyas. Those Brahmans who became fond of untruth and of injuring others, and were engaged in impure acts, and had fallen from purity of conduct, were attached to the mood of darkness, and became Sudras. . . . All the four orders have therefore the right of performing all pious acts and sacrifices.²

It is also laid down :

Character is the first requisite. Every person who is not learned in the Vedas is a Sudra, and whoever conforms to the rules of pure and virtuous conduct is a Brahman.³

Side by side with the assertions such as 'the status of a Brahman can only be acquired by birth' and 'the Brahman, whether learned or unlearned, pure or impure, is always a superior divinity,' there are teachings of a more liberal kind in the great Epic :

The gods know him for a Brahman who has cast off anger and passion ; who always speaks the truth here ; who pleases his preceptor ; who, though himself injured, never returns the injury ; who has his senses under control ; who is virtuous, pure, devoted to the study of the Vedas ; who has subdued lust ; who has endowed with mental vigour ; who is catholic in religion ; and who looks upon

¹ *Gita*, iv. 13. The *Gunas* or moods vary according to each caste (Barnett, *Gita*, p. 186).

² *Moksha Dharma*, c. 188. See above § 7, *ad. fin.*

³ *Vana Parva*, c. 180.

all beings as himself. . . . It is neither birth nor study nor learning that constitutes Brahmanhood, it is character.¹

'Caste,' says Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, 'as we know it now in India, a theoretical frame-work of four classes, each class sub-divided into an unlimited number of sections, the members of which are not to marry members of others, did not exist in ancient India.'²

Garbe fixes the age of the systematizing of caste :

The consolidation of the priesthood into a privileged close corporation as well as the real development of the caste system did not come until the time represented by the second period of Brahmanic literature, i.e. by the *Yajur Veda* or Veda of Sacrifice and by the Brahmins and the Sudras, both of which present the sacrificial ritual, the former with, the latter without, theological comment. These works contain the material through which the Indian hierarchy and the caste system are displayed to us.³

§ 10. The climax of Brahmanic ascendancy is reached in the age of the *Institutes of Manu*, the *Dharmasastras of Manu*. The work is a code of Laws, of the date of which there is no agreement among European scholars. Monier-Williams places it not later than the fifth century B.C.⁴ Buhler⁵ assigns between second century B.C. and second century A.D. Max Müller notes that dates ranging from 1280 to 880 B.C. have been given for the Code.⁶ Garbe thinks that the Code as we have it belongs to the beginning of the Christian era.⁷ The

¹ *Vana Parva*, c. 313.

² *L.A.I.*, p. 41.

³ *Philosophy of Ancient India*, 58-9: ⁴ *Indian Wisdom*, 207.

⁵ *Laws of Manu* (S.B.E. xxv.), p. cxvii.

⁶ *A.S.L.*, p. 52.

⁷ *Philosophy of Ancient India*, p. 63.

importance and sustained influence of the Code lie in its being the outcome of Brahmanic claims, and in its being a severe exponent of the caste-system.

Even if not the oldest of post-Vedic writings, it is certainly the most interesting, both as presenting the picture of the institutions, usages, manners and intellectual condition of an important part of the Hindu race and at a remote period, and as revealing the exaggerated nature of the rules by which the Brahmans sought to secure their own ascendancy, and to perpetuate an organized caste-system in subordination to themselves.¹

The Code of Manu² has great influence over Indian social and religious life and thought for several reasons. The first and foremost circumstance to be taken into account is the fact of the traditional ascription of its authorship to a sage whom legend, more than history, has invested with a character almost divine. Manu is named in the *Rig Veda* as the institutor of sacrifice.³ In him the gods appeared first.⁴ He is the father of the Aryan race,⁵ and probably a heroic rishi.⁶ Agni is said to have been born 'by Manu's Law'.⁷ He was reputed to have spoken with wisdom.⁸ Indra the God identifies himself with Manu of afore-time.⁹ In the Code itself Manu is divine,¹⁰ one of the deities of later theology.¹¹

¹ Monier-Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, pp. 203-4.

² The work is attributed to a special law-school and not to an individual (Buhler, *Laws of Manu*, pp. xlvii-lvi). On *Manu*, see Jones's *Institutes of Hindu Law*, Introduction.

³ *Rig Veda*, i. 13.4, i. 14.8. * *Ibid.*, i. 46.13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 96.2, i. 130, 8; ii. 33.13, iv. 54.1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 112.16.18.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 128.1. This means the same as *Rig Veda*. i. 13.4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ii. 10.6. ⁹ *Ibid.*, iv. 26.1.

¹⁰ *Code*, i. 63, vi. 54, xii. 123.

¹¹ *Nirukta*, xii. 33. See Buhler, *S.B.E.* xxv. pp. lvii-lxiii.

A Manu who composed a treatise on the sacred law which gained some notoriety was, therefore, sure of divine honours. As soon as the identification of the author of the *Sutra* with the father of mankind was made, it was a matter of course that the *Manu-Smṛiti* obtained a particularly high position, and was accepted as the paramount authority on the sacred law.¹

Another circumstance is the freedom of the Code from all sectarian influence, and its adherence to the Vedic deities.² Again, the 'close intertwining of politics, morality and social life with religion and religious ordinances'³ in this Code is a factor in the influence it wields over Hindus. The Code touches a Hindu's whole being, in every aspect of his activity, social, moral, political, religious. The sanction of religion, the obligation of dogma, is for every provision of law invoked, and religion is the foundation of Manu's jurisprudence. 'The root of all law is the Veda, and the traditions of those who know the Veda.'⁴ 'Whatever law has been ordained by Manu, that has already been declared in the Veda.'⁵ The theory of caste, worked into an elaborate system by numerous rules and exceptions, is not an inconsiderable element in assessing the influence the *Code of Manu* has over the Hindu mind. Caste is not merely for the life that is, but it is a potent factor in the cycle of births. Its sway is even into eternity. The importance of the Brahman, his dignity almost divine, is the culminating point of the caste-teaching of the *Code of Manu*.

¹ Buhler, p. lxiv.

² *Ibid.*, p. lv.

³ Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism*, p. 52.

⁴ *Code*, ii. 6,

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 7.

The priestly caste might well have been content with such a condition of affairs as we find in the early ritual texts. But the Brahmans were not; they continued to work steadily to secure new advantages for themselves and to push the rigid caste distinctions to the most dreadful consequences. The result lies before us in condensed form in the famous law-book of Manu.¹

As illustrations of assertions of Brahmanic importance in the *Code of Manu* may be noted the following:—

1. The very birth of a Brahmana is an eternal incarnation of the sacred law.²

2. Whatever exists in the world is the property of the Brahmana.³

3. Let the first part of a Brahmana's name denote something auspicious . . . but a Sudra's something contemptible.⁴

4. The seniority of the Brahmans is from sacred knowledge . . . but that of Sudras alone is from age.⁵

5. A Brahmana who takes a Sudra wife to bed will, after death, sink into hell.⁶

6. He who threatens a Brahman with physical harm will wander one hundred years in hell.⁷

7. As many particles of dust as the blood (of a Brahman) takes up from the ground, during so many years the spiller of the blood (of a Brahman) will be devoured by others in the next world.⁸

8. He who steals the gold of a Brahmana, the slayer of a Brahmana, are guilty of mortal sins.⁹

9. He who seizes the property of the gods or of the Brahmans feeds in another world on the leavings of vultures.¹⁰

10. A Brahman, whether ignorant or learned, is a great divinity.¹¹

¹ Garbe, *Philosophy of Ancient India*, p. 63. ² *Code*, i. 98.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 100. ⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 31. ⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 155. ⁶ *Ibid.*, iii. 17.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iv. 165. ⁸ *Ibid.*, iv. 168. ⁹ *Ibid.*, ix. 235. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, xi. 26.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, ix. 317.

11. Though Brahmans employ themselves in all sorts of mean occupations they must be honoured in every way, for each of them is a very great deity.¹

12. On account of his pre-eminence, the superiority of his origin, his observance of restrictive rules, and on account of his particular sanctification, the Brahman is lord of castes.²

13. The Brahmana is declared to be the creator, the punisher, the teacher, the benefactor of all. To him let no man say anything unpropitious nor use any harsh speech.³

14. A Brahman may take the goods of a Sudra with peace of mind.⁴

Provisions such as these abound in the Code, and even kings are reminded of their limitations where a Brahman is concerned.⁵ The purity of the Brahmanic stock and the prestige of the Brahmans were at the same time safeguarded by stringent regulations against adultery,⁶ rape,⁷ theft,⁸ perjury⁹ and other offences by Brahmans. In the Code 'the theory of caste and the superiority of the Brahmans is the hinge on which the whole social fabric turns. The Brahmans form the central body round which all other classes revolve like satellites. Not only are they invested with divine dignity but they are bound together by the most stringent rules.'¹⁰ The living influence of the *Code of Manu* on Hindu life is abundantly attested not only by the unabated severities of caste rules but also by the civil jurisprudence of *Manu* being constantly

¹ *Code*, ix. 319.

² *Ibid.*, x. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, xi. 35.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 417.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ix. 331-23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, viii. 378-9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, viii. 383-5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 338-40.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 123-4.

¹⁰ Monier Williams, *Brahmanism*, p. 53.

resorted to for the exposition of modern Hindu law and usage in and out of the courts of India.¹

§ 10. There is a connection between caste and dogma. We have seen how an old *Upanishad*² lays it down that caste is the result of one's deeds in this or other births. In the *Code of Manu* caste ideas tinge the theology of future retribution :

1. The slayer of a Brahman enters the womb of a dog, a pig, an ass, a camel, a cow, a goat, a sheep, a deer, a bird, a chandala, a pukkasa (in succession).³

2. Brahmanas and Kshattriyas being closely united prosper in this world and in the next.⁴

3. Let a Sudra serve Brahmans for the sake of heaven or with a view to this life and the next.⁵

'The practical influence of these ideas [Karma, Transmigration] is seen on a great scale in the system of caste of which they furnish a justification and support. This system supplies an elaborately graduated scheme which can fit into such a doctrine of carefully adjusted rewards and punishments. A man's spiritual status is supposed to correspond to his rank in the order of caste ; his *Karma* and his social rank agree, and he should accept it as appointed for him and immutable.'⁶

¹ Cf. Mayne's *Hindu Law and Usage* ; Grady's *Hindu Law* ; Strange's *Hindu Law* ; Jones's *Institutes of Hindu Law*. Buhler, p. 515 has an appendix of quotations from *Manu* translated in books on Hindu Law. See Gour, *Hindu Code*.

² See above, § 8.

³ *Code*, xii. 55. A Brahman is not liable to undergo capital punishment, *Code*, viii. 378.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ix. 322.

⁵ *Ibid.*, x. 122.

⁶ Dr. Macnicol, *The Expositor*, October 1918, p. 296.

Again, caste is the natural efflorescence of pantheistic thought.¹ Regarded as a code of obligations it is essentially based upon Collectivism; it makes the group and the individual the unit of its whole moral system. . . . It takes a basis of absolute Collectivism as that whereon to build. . . . It substitutes a corporate rule of life for every rudimentary conception of personal liberty or choice. . . . It takes the primitive conception of the group, and crystallizes it under the influence of Pantheism to survive into a state of Civilization which ought ages ago to have sloughed it off.²

The *Code of Manu*, more than any single book, has, by its elaboration of caste rules, caste duties, caste restrictions, and particularly by its detailed account of future punishments, served to keep the system of caste in cohesiveness, and to wield a terrible sway over millions of men. Even after the *Gita*, with its ampleness of outlook almost catholic, had opened to 'women, traffickers and Sudras the Supreme Path'³ with 'holy Brahmans and devout royal sages,'⁴ the iron hold of the *Code of Manu* on the ethical consciousness of India remains unrelaxed.

¹ Holdsworth, 'Philosophical Basis of Caste,' *London Quarterly Review*, April, 1911, p. 263.

² Bishop Mylne, *Missions to India*, pp. 27-37.

³ *Gita* ix. 32

⁴ *Ibid.*, ix. 33.

CHAPTER VIII

IN SEARCH OF THE LIGHT

§ 1. 'The Breath of Life (Atman) received a new name. They called it Brahman [nominative neuter *Brahma*, from the root *brih*, 'to expand'] because it expanded itself through all space. It was a pure Essence which not only diffused itself everywhere, but constituted everything. Men, gods and the visible world itself were merely its manifestations. Such was the fundamental doctrine of Brahmanism. Such was Brahmanism in its earliest origin. Soon, however, it became a more complex system—a system which may be regarded as possessing four sides, or rather four phases running into each other and nowhere separable by sharply defined lines, namely, (1) Ritualistic, (2) Philosophical, (3) Mythological or Polytheistic, (4) Nomistic.'¹

'The Vedic religion, as the Indo-Aryans moved eastwards into the great Gangetic Valley, and southwards into the Deccan, changed first into Brahmanism properly so called—that is, the religion of the *Brāhmaṇa* or Vedic mantra of the *Brāhmaṇ*, the highest of the four Hindu castes, and of the *Brahmanas*, the priestly manuals. It became the religion of the hereditary priest, and of the mantra or sacred text, and of the manual, rather than of the

¹ Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism*, p. 21.

Aryan people and the Vedic hymn-book. The hymns ceased to be understood by either priest or people, and even to be repeated or sung by the latter. They came to be regarded as magic or cabalistic words of power, the mere repetition of which effected most stupendous physical and spiritual changes.¹

Brahmanism, in the four aspects of Ritual, Philosophy, Mythology, and Law, co-existing in one whole, is synchronous with the 'development (of religion) from the simplest conceptions of nature-worship, step by step,² to a great priestly ritual, then on to mysticism, intellectualism and asceticism, and in many cases to the rejection of all gods and rites into a salvation by knowledge, faith or works, or to a pantheistic faith which spurns all faith as unnecessary.'³

§ 2. Brahman we have seen⁴ meant 'prayer,' and then the 'maker of prayers,' and thence *Brāhmanas* were the prayer-books of the 'prayer-men,' and Brahmanism had its name from its being the religion of the prayer-books as well as of the men who made prayers, the Brahmins. The idea of God as Brahma, or The Brahman, may have been anticipated in the *Rig Veda* in the conceptions of Aditi and Varuna under aspects of all-pervasiveness, but the name Brahma, as the Highest Atman, the All-Soul, or otherwise, does not occur in any of the *Rik* hymns.⁵ Brahman, the All-Soul, is

¹ Macdonald, *Brahmanas of the Vedas*, p. 46.

² See above, ch. iv, § 2.

³ Macdonald, *Brahmanas*, p. 45.

⁴ See above, vii, § 1.

⁵ See above, ch. v, § 8. In the *Rig Vedic Brihaspati*, or *Brahmanaspathi*, the idea of Brahman, the All-Soul, is said to be present.

certainly a name new to the system known as Brahmanism. Brahmanism, in the stage of ritual predominance, was certainly not so nameable¹ from the idea of The Brahman, the All-Soul. *The* doctrine of Brahmanism is the Allness of the All-Soul.

§ 3. The four aspects of Brahmanism—Ritualistic, Philosophical, Mythological, Nomistic—were not ever chronologically successive features of it. These characteristics co-existed. At the same time, it is not inaccurate to state that there are stages of the predominance of one aspect or other at certain times. This is best seen in the fact of books of certain periods being specially associated with a particular aspect of Brahmanism. The books known as the *Brahmanas*² are liturgical in character. 'The *Brahmanas* are chiefly concerned with ritual, its form and significance. This content already implies a certain amount of mystic and theosophic, though not necessarily philosophic, thinking. But here and there true philosophic conceptions begin to emerge from the dreary chaos of ritualistic fact and fancy'.³ The period of the *Brahmanas* may be said to be the period of the predominance of Ritualistic Brahmanism.

§ 4. The philosophical hymns⁴ of the *Rig Veda* dissociate themselves by their contents from the

¹ 'The Brahmans themselves would reject such a title. They call their religion Arya-Dharma, 'religion of the Aryas' or Vaidika Dharma or Rishi-Sampradaya-Dharma. *Patanjali*, i. 1.1.' (Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism*, p. 20.)

² See above, ch. ii, § 7. On the wide meaning of *Brahmanas*, see Max Müller, *Upanishads* (S.B.E.) i. p. lxvi.

³ Barnett, *Gita*, Introduction, p. 4.

⁴ E.g. *Rig Veda* x. 90, x. 129, x. 72.

context of the earlier hymns with their pure and joyous religion of simplicity and satisfaction. The *Brahmanas* suggest a time when pure Vedism was fast dying, if not already dead, and 'prophecy' had ceased, and men were beginning to be puzzled and speculative and to be in danger of ignoring the importance of ritual. These liturgical treatises, while averting the danger of the oblivion of ritual, took care to keep alive the speculative tendencies which had threatened to minimize the significance of rite and the supremacy of the priest. Thus ritual and, on a small scale at first, philosophy co-existed. The thoughts in the *Brāhmanas* begot other thoughts. The result was the production of the *Upanishads*,¹ the Bible of philosophic Brahmanism. It is the very philosophic suggestiveness of the *Brāhmanas* that gave an impetus to Upanishadic thinking, drawing the attention of men away from the dreariness of liturgical routine to sustained introspectiveness.

A reaction from an overdone ritual was inevitable. People became wearied with sacrifices and sacrificers. The minds of thinking men found no rest in the blood of slaughtered victims. It only remained to take refuge in metaphysical investigations. If every man was a part of God, what necessity was there that God should propitiate Himself? If a portion of the one self-existent Spirit chose for a time to ignore itself, to invest itself with a body, to fetter itself with actions, and their inevitable results, the

¹ See above, ch. i, § 8. Max Müller, *Upanishads* (S.B.E.) i. pp. lxxix-lxxxiv, discussing the various meanings of the word *Upanishad* is in favour of 'sitting down' as its original meaning. Other explanations are (1) Destruction of ignorance, (2) Approach to God, (3) Secret Doctrine, (4) Rules of Knowledge, (5) Reverential meditation.

consequences could only be borne by itself in its passage through numberless births. Nor could there be any final emancipation from a continued succession of corporeal existences till action ceased and the consciousness of identity with the one Universal Spirit returned. The *Upanishads*, or hidden doctrine of the Veda, are the special Bible of this phase of Brahmanism.¹

The *Upanishads* belong to the period of the predominance of the philosophical aspect of Brahmanism. Thought became emancipated from ritual. There was an evolution in the very name of God. 'The Vedic Prayer-Brahma (*Brahmanaspati*) has become Thought-Brahma. The change is significant; for the tendency of the *Upanishads* is to oppose intellect to ritualistic religion.'²

§ 5. Philosophy did not kill ritual, it could not. Ritual is not dead in India. We must suppose that the priesthood, while perhaps not averse to effecting small compromises with the rationalistic theology represented by the *Upanishads*, was reluctant to let slip out of its hands so potent a weapon as ritual with which to this day it wields unresisted sway over millions. Ritual, despite philosophy, remained for the many. Philosophy, after all, was for the few. The leaven, however, of thought was spreading and its chilling influence was threatening completely to leave the many without 'God'. Mythological Brahmanism, Buddhistic perhaps in point of time of origin, was an effort to popularize Pantheism.

Nothing was easier for them (Brahmans) than to maintain that the one sole, self-existing Supreme Spirit, the

¹ Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism*, pp. 25-6.

² Barnett, *Gita*, Introduction, pp. 9-10.

only real, existing Essence, exercises itself, as if sportively, in infinite expansion, in infinite manifestation of itself, in infinite creation, dissolution and re-creation, through infinite varieties and diversities of operation.¹

The legends, traditions and superstitions of the people were put to use in the deifying of heroes, and in making warrior dynasties trace their origins to the Sun and the Moon, divinities of the *Rig Veda*. Not only were old myths used, but fresh ones fabricated.

Myths and stories confirmatory of the divine origin of every great hero were invented and inserted into the body of the poems (Epics). Nor was any amount of anthropomorphism, polytheism, polidemonism, and even fetishism incompatible with pantheistic doctrines. The Brahmins in their popular teaching were simply carrying out their own doctrine of evolution.²

The mythological tendency carefully fostered by the Brahmins worked itself in later times into the imagination of the unlearned many by means of the books called the *Puranas*,³ where the Vedic Agni, Vishnu, Vayu, Rudra, are in revived prominence and incidents cluster round Siva and Brahma. The marked characteristic of Puranic religion is the popularizing of the cult of *personal* gods, and out of it arose Hindu sectarianism.

§ 6. Nomistic Brahmanism belongs to the age of the law-books, the *dharma-sāstras*, the chiefest of which was the *Code of Manu*.⁴ This phase of

¹ Monier Williams, *Brahmanism*, 43. ² *Ibid.*

³ For a short account of the eighteen Puranas, see Pal's *Religion of the Hindus*, iii, ch. vii. 'The main stream of Upanishadic pantheism which we may call by the general name of Brahmanism flowed on . . . at many points modified by tributaries of sectarian doctrine.' (Barnett, *Gita*, Introduction, p. 14).

⁴ See above, ch. vii. §9.

Brahmanism does not form a division of Brahmanism. It only indicates the emphasis laid on legalism at a certain stage of the progress of Brahmanical religion.

§ 7. Brahmanism, strictly so called, has a philosophic basis. The fundamentals of philosophic Brahmanism are to be found in the *Upanishads*.

1. That moves, yet That moves not. That is far, near too is That. That is of all, this the within, of this all the without too is That.¹

2. Whose seeth all things in that Self and Self in everything ; from That he will no more hide.²

3. He hath pervaded all, radiant, simple, spotless, pure, incorporeal, by sin untainted. He the seer, the lord of mind, the all-embracer, self-existent.³

4. As fire, though one, entering the world like to the various forms in form become, so does the inner Self of all creation, though one, like to the various forms in form become, yet is without them all.⁴

5. Sole Sovereign, inner Self of all creation, who makes the one form manifold⁵

6. Just as the rivers rolling onward, towards the ocean tending, on reaching the ocean, sink their name and form perish, and 'ocean' they are simply called, in just the self-same way, of all that all-watchful one, these sixteen phases, Purusha-wards tending, on reaching Him, sink into the Purusha, their name and form perish, and 'Purusha' they are simply called. He, the immortal, hath no phases—He.⁶

7. As from a blazing fire, thousand ways fly forth sparks of one same nature, so from the Imperishable beings manifold are produced and thither go again.⁷

8. He is the inner Self of every creature.⁸

¹ *Ishopanishad*, 5.

² *Ibid.*, 8.

³ *Ibid.*, v. 12.

⁷ *Mundaka*, 2, 1.1.

² *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴ *Kāthopanishad*, v. 9.

⁶ *Prasna*, vi. 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 2, 1.4.

9. From Him are the oceans and the mountains all ; from Him the rivers roll of every kind ; from Him are plants ; sap too, whereby the inner Self indeed blends with the creature.¹

10. As oil in seeds, butter in cream, water in springs, and in the fire-sticks fire, so is that Self found in the self which seeks Him, the Self pervading all.²

11. All this is Brahman.³

12. He is my self within the heart, smaller than a corn of rice, smaller than a corn of barley, smaller than a mustard-seed, smaller than a canary-seed, or the kernel of a canary-seed. He also is my Self within the heart, greater than the earth, greater than the sky, greater than the heaven, greater than all these worlds.⁴

13. It is the Self, and thou art It.⁵

14. That which is was in the beginning One only, without a second.⁶

15. He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.⁷

These quotations from the *Upanishads* indicate the philosophical foundations of Brahmanism. God is All, the All-pervasive, the Self of all, all are in Him, God alone *IS*, and the self, God. Brahman is the same as the human self—' thou art That '.

§8. ' A phase of Brahmanism, less influenced by sectarian tendencies and more faithful to the *Upanishadic* spirit, grew into a more or less coherent

¹ *Mundaka*, 2. 1.9.

² *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 1.15, 1.16. See *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, p. 72.

³ *Chandogya Upanishad* 3.14.1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.14.3. Cf. 8. 3. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.13.3, 6.8.7, 6.9.4, 6, 10.3, etc. See note on the Great Texts in my *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, pp. 165.185.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.2.2. Benerjea (*Dialogues*, p. 336) understands ' that ' to mean ' the visible universe ' and not ' God '.

⁷ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 2.5.1. This line is the last of each of the next thirteen verses.

system popularly known as *Vedānta*, and on this foundation Sankara Achariya, in the beginning of the ninth century, built up his great body of doctrine, which, under the name of *Vedānta* or *Uttara-mīmāṃsa*, has overshadowed nearly all the earlier schools of Brahmanism, and now reigns supreme¹ in India . . . The whole doctrine of the *Vedānta* is summed up in two *Upanishadic* phrases²—*ekam evaditiyam*, “verily one without a second,” and *tat tvam asi*, “thou art That” . . .³ There are no *two*, says the Vedantist, and his philosophy, by processes of marvellous negation, asserts this truth of non-duality in a destructive, more than constructive, manner.

An Indian scholar puts this thus happily :

In reality Brahman alone *is*, nothing else is, and all that appears to be is He . . . To the rishis the question was not how the world was created, but *how they came to be the individualized beings* they were, and finding that they came to be so *by mistaking the unreal for the real*, their care was to remove the error. The *Vedānta* is thus more a system of *removal of our belief in the reality of duality* than one of the establishment of unity.⁴

In the system peculiar to the Tamil Hindus, the *Siddhānta*,⁵ the relationship between God and man is differently conceived.

A high *Siddhānta* authority states :

The Vedic text *ekam evaditiyam Brahma* means that there is only one Supreme Being without a second.

¹ Barring the *Siddhānta*.

² See *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, p. 185 for the *Siddhānta* exposition of this text.

³ Barnett, *Gita*. Introduction, pp. 15-37. Cf. Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 158-9.

⁴ Baij Nath, *Hinduism*, p. 222. Longer italics mine.

⁵ See *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, Intro.

And this one is the *Pathi* and not the soul. You who say (ignorantly) you are one (with the Lord) are the soul, and are bound up with *Pasa*. As we say that, without (the primary sound) 'A', all other letters will not sound, so the *Vedas* say, 'Without the Lord no other things will exist.'¹

The *Advaita* of the *Siddhānta* is different from any similar theory in the *Vedānta*. The *Siddhānta* does not follow the Hindu Idealists in their postulating of identity without difference between God and the soul. Says the learned translator of the *Bodham* into English :

An identity is perceived and a difference in substance also is felt. It is this relation which could not easily be postulated in words, but which may be conceived, and which is seen as two, *Dvaitam*, and at the same time as not two, *Na Dvaitam*. It is this relation which is called *Advaitam* (a unity, or identity in duality) and the philosophy which postulates it is the *Advaita philosophy*.²

He writes on the allness of the Deity :

God is all, but *all is not God*. He is therefore all and not all. He is immanent in everything and yet above everything. The doctrine is very popular in nearly the whole of Tamil literature, and it is most vividly expressed in the favourite phrase எல்லாமாய் அல்லவுமாய் ('All and yet not all').

The Hindu Idealists stop with எல்லாமாய் ('He is all') and do not proceed to postulate அல்லவுமாய் ('He is not all' or 'He is above all'). All objective phenomena may be

¹ *Sivagnana Bodham*, 2.1.2. *Pasu* = Soul ; *Pathi* = God ; *Pasa* = Taint.

² Nallaswamy Pillai, *Bodham* (English Edition) p. 17. 'It being the highest truth also it is called the *Siddhānta*, the *True End*.' (Nallaswamy Pillai, *Studies*, p. 65). The subject of *Advaita*, according to the *Siddhānta*, is dealt with at some length in the present writer's *Psalm of a Saiva Saint* where the principal authorities and proof-texts are cited.

in a sense mental or objective, but all subjective phenomena are not objective.¹

§ 9. It was in men's efforts to associate God with, or dissociate Him from, phenomena that the severest strain was put upon their philosophy. The realism² of the religion of the *Rig Veda* continued to influence the early *Upanishadic* thinkers who in consequence remained in their pantheism, seeing God in all. Later thinkers, however, conceived the bold idea that all phenomena were inconsistent with the immutability of God, and phenomena were illusions sportively evolved by the Deity who, in so doing, conditioned Himself. That He so conditioned Himself was not a fact, thinkers reasoned, but a theological fiction, a concession to the ignorance of minds which could not, but for it, think of God.

Hence a great text of the *Upanishads* declared :

'Know then that Prakriti (nature) is *Māya* (art) and the Great Lord the *Māyin* (maker), the whole world is filled with what are His members. If a man has discerned Him who, being one only, rules over every germ (cause) in whom all this comes together, and comes asunder again, who is the Lord, the bestower of blessing, the adorable God, then he passes for ever into that place.'³

The question had been raised before :

'Is Brahman the cause? Whence are we born? . . . Should time or nature or necessity or chance or the elements be considered as the cause, or He, who is called the Person (*Purusha*, *vignanatma*)? It cannot be their union either, because that is not self-dependent, and the self also is powerless, because there is (independent of him) a cause

¹ *Bodham* (English Edition), p. 17.

² Barnett, *Brahma-Knowledge*, p. 38.

³ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 4. 10.11,

of good and evil. The sages devoted to meditation and concentration have seen the power belonging to God Himself (the *Dévatmasākti*) hidden in its own qualities (*guna*). He being one superintends all those causes, time, self and the rest.¹

The *Upanishad* lays down :

‘Some wise men, deluded, speak of Nature, and others of Time (as the cause of everything) but it is the greatness of God by which this Brahma-wheel is made to turn.’²

In the third Adhyaya of the same (*Svetasvatara Upanishad*) the Highest self is represented as the personified Deity, as the Lord, *Isa* or *Rudra* under the sway of his creative power, *Prakriti*, or *Maya*.³ This *Maya*-girt self is described in the text as ‘The Snarer who rules alone by his Power.’⁴

‘Beyond is the High Braham, the Vast. Those who know *Isa*, the Lord hidden in all things and embracing all things, to be this Brahman become immortal.’⁵

The Sole Reality is the unmanifested Brahman, the Highest Self, and He is *conceivable*, merely as a concession to human ignorance, as associated with phenomena, and He is then *Isa*, the manifested, the *conditioned*⁶ Brahman.

Deussen states this thus as a *Vedanta* tenet :

‘Scripture distinguishes two forms of Brahman, the Higher, without attributes (*param*, *nirgunam*), and the Lower, possessing attributes (*āparam*, *sugunam*). In the first sense it is taught that Brahman is without attributes (*guna*), difference (*visesha*), form (*akara*), and limitation

¹ *Ibid.*, i. 1.2.3.

² *Ibid.*, 6. 1.

³ Max Müller, *S.B.E.*, xv. 244, note (1).

⁴ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 3. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 3. 7. Max Müller, translation in the notes, *S.B.E.* xv. 245.

⁶ *Chandogyopanishad*, 4.15.5; 5.10.1 with Sri Sankara's Commentary (Natesan's edition).

(*upadhi*); in the second, where worship is the object, attributes, difference, form and limitation belong to Brahman . . . The imposition on Brahman of *upadhis* is only an illusion, just as it is an illusion to look upon a crystal as red when it merely reflects a red colour . . . The many picturesque representations given us of the Lower Brahman may be divided into three groups—the pantheistic Brahman as the world-soul, the psychological as the individual soul, and the theistic as the Personal God.¹

This is an aspect of the conception of God in early philosophic Brahmanism, and it takes into account the possibilities of thought in pantheism and theism.

§ 10. 'Maya means primarily "creative faculty," and especially the magic power that enables a being to veil his own personality by creating bodily phantoms or wraiths which bear his or another's semblance, without causing any change in his own identity.² The teachers of the older *Upanishads* did not make use of this idea for philosophic purposes, nor does it occur in the *Brahma-Sutra*. But to some thinkers of the second *Upanishadic* period, and notably to the author of the *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, it suggested a bold theory. According to them Brahma is the great magician³ possessed of an eternal force (*Sakti*)⁴ of magic by which he created the conditioned universe as an

¹ Deussen's *Vedanta* (abridged by Smart), § 7. 8. 12. See *Chandogya Upanishad*, 3. 14, *Mundaka Upanishad*, 2. 1.1. *Brihad*, 4. 4. 22, *Kathopanishad*, 4. 12. On the Personality of God, as taught in the *Siddhanta*, see Nallaswami Pillai, *Studies*, p. 223. See below, ch. ix.

² *Rig Veda*, vi. 47.18, 'Indra by reason of his *Maya* appears to be of many forms.'

³ *Mayin* (see *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 4. 10.11.)

⁴ In Saivism, *Sakti* is personified Cf. Pal's, *Siva and Sakti*, two volumes. See *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, Introduction, part vii.

illusive wraith of himself. The phenomenal world was to them not a reality of illusory appearance, but an essentially illusive unreality. . . . Practically Brahma is an utterly blank, infinite thought. The universe is his illusion—his, yet external to him. He is *conditionally* its material cause, its actual cause is his magic or spirit of illusion. *Maya*—which may likewise be termed Ignorance, Not-Self, Not-Thought, Matter—is conceived as a cosmic entity, a universal substance or sum of forces comprehending all conditioned powers, causes and effects.

In itself it is unreal. . . . It has a reality, for it is a manifestation of the Real, though a false manifestation. The light of self falls upon it.”¹

The Vedanta position that metaphysically there is no world is illustrated by familiar and oft-used analogies.²

1. All earthen pots are truly earth, and, as the conversion of earth into pots is a mere *nāma* depending on words, so this world is nothing but *Brahman*.

2. As the illusion that there is a snake vanishes when it is observed to be a rope, a man when it is only the stem of a tree, a lake when it is only a mirage, so the soul's illusion vanishes on the acquisition of right knowledge.

3. As the magician causes magic and withdraws the effects, so the whole world is an illusion caused and withdrawn by Brahma.

¹ Barnett, *Gita*, Introduction, §§ 33, 34.

² See a few in Smart's *Summary of Deussen's Vedanta*, § 23. As to whether the word *Maya* has or no any Persian association, see *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 205 and 1914, pp. 138, 362. On the relation of the idealism of the Vedanta to the nihilism of the Buddhists, see *J.R.A.S.*, 1916, pp. 279, 380 (Prof. Keith's remarks). •

4. As pictures in a dream, true while the dream lasted but false when the dream is dispelled, so are all phenomena.

§ II. The Vedanta view that all is illusion is not accepted in India by all who profess Brahmanism. Sri Sankaracharya, a great Indian philosopher,¹ is *the* philosopher of the Vedanta. According to him God *appears* as the manifold world without undergoing any change in His real nature. A later thinker, Vigyan Bhikshu, thus criticizes Sankara's theory :

Maya is declared in the Puranas to be *prakriti*, which cannot be defined either as *being* or as *non-being* in the *paramarthika* (true) state. The Vedanta does not hold the world to be totally non-existent or totally destructible, for the Sutras declare that the non-existence of external things cannot be maintained on account of our consciousness of them. The Sutras also declare that on account of that which is posterior i.e., the effect being what it is, viz. the cause, and on account of the difference of nature, the ideas of the waking state are not like those of dreams. The world is, according to the Sruti,² both *sat* (being) and *asat* (not-being) because it assumes various forms in the past and future. The illustrations of dreams,³ etc., in the Scriptures only declare its evanescent nature and unreality in the true condition, not its total non-existence. Objects of a dream even are not totally non-existent, as they are objects cognized by the seer, in that condition.

¹ A. D. 788, Krishnaswamy Aiyar's *Sri Sankaracharya*, p. 16. Sankara's commentaries on the *Upanishads*, his *Vedanta Sutras* and the *Gita* have a high place among Indian philosophic writings. Sankara's views on *Maya* and the conditioned Brahman are enunciated in his *Vedanta Sutras*, i. 1. 5, ii. 1. 9. ii. 1. 14. For a brief but lucid statement of Sankara's teaching, see Farquhar, *O.R.L.I.*, pp. 170-6.

² See above, ch. i, § 3.

³ See above, § 10, *ad fin.*

The view of the neo-Vedantins that the world is an illusion, like a dream, is therefore wrong.¹

A modern Hindu writer thus discusses Sankara's teaching :

We see already that he does not pronounce the world of sensuous objects and finite selves as absolutely non-existent. Far from doing so, he rather admits that in one sense the world is as real as Brahman, for, in their real essence, they are one with Brahman—comprehended in Brahma's indivisible essence. Sankara is never tired of repeating the *Chandogya* text :—' Verily all this is Brahman.' It is only the world's existence as conceived to be distinct from Brahman that is unreal according to him. Such a conception, he says, is based on ignorance and disappears on the attainment of true knowledge. Now, the question is, *whence this ignorance*—this fruitful source of the infinite variety that constitutes the world ? In reply, Sankara has no hesitation in saying that this potent agency belongs to Brahman Himself, *though in saying so he seems to contradict himself palpably*. Is not Brahman, as conceived by Sankara, the very essence of knowledge ? How then could there be ignorance in him even for a single moment ? Is not Sankara's Brahman a non-agent (*niskriya*) ? How then could any power or agency belong to him ? *We confess we find no clear answers to such questions in Sankara.*²

The various changes in the meaning of the word *Maya* in Indian philosophic thought are thus described in a modern periodical devoted to Vedanta studies.

A reference to the *Sarvanukramanika* of Katayana shows us that the word *Maya* occurs in many of the hymns of the *Rig Veda*, in almost all its grammatical forms, and

¹ *Yoga Sutras*, pp. 131-2, quoted in Baij-Nath's *Hinduism*, p. 231.

² Tatva Bhushan, *Philosophy of Sankaracharya*, pp. 208-9. See *Vedanta Sara* (Ballantyne's Translation), iv, vi, vii.

is used in connection with several of the gods whose praises are sung therein. In all these places Sayana invariably interprets *Maya* to mean *Prajna* (intelligence). In Yaska's *Nirukta* it is derived from *ma* to measure, and is made to mean thereby the intelligence through which all things are measured and comprehended. There are also a few places where *Maya* is interpreted as 'wonderful power'. The *Vedanta* is based on the *Upanishads*; but in these Scriptural discourses on philosophy and religion there is no system; and it has been the endeavour of the *sutrakara*, the composer of the aphorisms, and his commentators to evolve a system out of the materials furnished by them. The word *Maya* scarcely occurs in the principal *Upanishads*. But where it does occur it seems to be *used* mostly in the old Vedic sense. The only two *Upanishads* where this word may be taken to be used in a new sense are the *Svetasvatara*¹ and the *Maitrayani*.² However it is quite certain that the philosophic system of thought which subsequently grew out of the *Upanishads* led to the elaboration of the Vedantic idea of *Maya*. . . The import of *Maya* as matured by Sankara in his *Advaita* system is partly an internal growth of the *Upanishads* and partly due to the *Maya* theory of the Buddhists against whom Sankara mainly contended.³

§ 12. We have seen that, according to the Vedanta, the idea of a personal God is but one of the three representations of the Lower Brahman.⁴ The conception, however, of a personal God was, in a great book of later Brahmanism, assumed almost in defiant departure from the philosophic subtleties of the Vedanta thinkers. Or, rather there

¹ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 4. 9.

² *Maitariya Brahmana Upanishad*, 4. 2, 7. 1, 7. 11 (illusion, magician, master magician). See for aspects of Brahman, *Ibid.* 4. 5; 5. 2; 6. 8; 6. 3; 6. 15, and *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 2. 3. 1.

³ *Brahmavadin*, i. 295-6.

⁴ See above, § 9.

was a reversion to the realism of the *Rig Veda*. This was accomplished in the *Baghavat Gita* in the cult therein inculcated of *Vishnu-Krishna-Vasudeva*. The path had been, in a measure, prepared for this departure by what has been called¹ the 'old Vasudevik' school. It taught that God was not the blank abstraction of the Vedanta but a Being, All-Good and immanent in a world of reality. In the *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad* it is stated that God is in the earth apart from the earth; in the water, different from the water; in the fire, different from the fire; in the sky, different from the sky; in the air, different from the air; in the heaven, different from the heaven; in the sun, different from the sun; in space, different from space; in the moon and stars, different from the moon and stars; in the ether, different from the ether; in the darkness, different from the darkness; and in the light, different from the light.²

It is further taught:

He who dwells in all beings, and apart from all beings, whom all beings do not know, whose body all beings are, and who rules all beings within, He is thy self, the ruler within, the Immortal. . . . He who dwells in the mind, and apart from the mind, whom the mind does not know, whose body the mind is, and who rules the mind within, He is thy Self, the ruler within, the Immortal. He who dwells in knowledge,³ and apart from knowledge, whom

¹ Barnett, *Gita*, Introduction, § 48.

² *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 3. 7. 3-14. Max Müller translates in the text by 'within' and in a note by 'different from' the word *antara*. He, following Deussen, prefers 'different from'. (*S. B. E.* xv. 133.)

³ Max Müller notes (*S. B. E.* xv. 136) that 'knowledge' here means, according to the Madhyandina School, 'the individual self'.

knowledge does not know, whose body knowledge is and who rules knowledge within, He is thy Self, the ruler within, the Immortal.¹

The chapter on the Being in whom 'are united all conceivable good qualities raised to infinity'² thus concludes :

Unseen but seeing ; unheard but hearing ; unperceived but perceiving ; unknown but knowing. There is no other seer but He ; there is no other hearer but He ; there is no other perceiver but He ; there is no other knower but He. This is thy Self, the ruler within, the Immortal. All else is of evil.³

God is the All-Good, and all else is of evil.

§13. The *Gita* is the Gospel of later Brahmanism. Its God is a personal Being, the object of adoration and attachment. Krishna-Vasudeva thus describes himself :

There is another Existence beyond this, an Unshown beyond this Unshown, an ancient which is in all born beings, but perishes not with them. The imperishable is this Unshown called ; this, they tell, is the Way Supreme which once won, men return not ; and this is my supreme abode. This is the Supreme Male, O Son of Pritha, to be won by undivided devotion, and wherein born beings abide, and wherewith this whole universe is filled.⁴

Side by side with the enunciation of the doctrine of a personal God are traces of recognition of the early Brahmanic ideas of the Higher Brahma and the conditioned Brahma.⁵ There is a double current of thought in the *Gita* due either to

¹ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 3. 7. 15, 20. 22.

² Barnett, *Gita*, Introd. § 48.

³ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 3. 7. 23.

⁴ *Gita*, viii. 20. 21. 22. For the rate of completeness of treatment a brief reference to the *Gita* is considered necessary in this chapter, and the subject is more fully dealt with in chap. ix, below.

⁵ *Ibid.*, viii. 4, viii. 24, xiv. 3.

composite authorship or to the efforts of a single writer to set forth, as a reconciled unity, two different trends of philosophy and belief. Thus salvation is attainable by two ways :

In this world is a twofold foundation declared of old by Me, O sinless one, in the Knowledge-Rule of the Count and the Work-Rule of the Rule. Without undertaking Works no man may possess worklessness, nor can he come to adeptship by mere casting off of works. . . . Do thine ordained work.¹

The Way of Works is the more excellent but both ways are said to be the same in their result.² The Way of Works is however put in an almost subsidiary position to knowledge :

Even though thou shouldst be of all sinners the greatest evil-doer thou shalt be by the boat of knowledge carried over all evil.³

There are men who offer devoutly all sacrifice, but there is no sacrifice like the sacrifice of knowledge,⁴ and knowledge he wins who has faith.⁵ To Arjuna was revealed the 'most secret knowledge, a royal knowledge, a royal mystery'.⁶ Again it is grace that suffices, the grace of the Lord that dwells in the hearts of men.⁷

As to the final state of the ransomed, the author of the *Gita* has not forgotten to take note of his predecessor's philosophy—'extinction in Brahma'.⁸ In later portions of his book, and in other contexts, the blessed one, found loving to the last, 'comes to Me'.⁹

¹ *Gita*, iii. 3, 4, 8. Cf. iii. 19, 22.

² *Ibid.*, vi. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 36. ⁴ *Ibid.*, iv. 33. ⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. 39. ⁶ *Ibid.*, ix. 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, xviii. 61, 62, xviii. 56.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ii. 72.

⁹ *Ibid.*, iv. 9, vii. 19, viii. 16. Cf. viii. 23-27, ix. 34, xi. 55

In making statements about the nature of God there is some confusion due to strong leanings towards earlier philosophies coupled with a stronger desire for reconciliation and moderation.¹ There are frequent references to a Higher Brahman and a Lower² and in one passage the impression is suggested of a third 'another and Highest, beyond the Perishable and the Imperishable'.³ The God of the *Gita* is however, to be worshipped in His 'unity, severalty, and manifold aspects that face all ways'.⁴ God is veiled in *Maya*,⁵ and by *Maya* is creation, and dissolution at the end of an æon, and it is *Maya* that moves all.⁶ How different the religion of the *Gita* is from the cold abstractions of the Vedanta is best set forth in the words of a modern scholar to whose estimate of that great book I am here under constant obligation :

There is little trace of conceptions which are specifically Vedantic. Our author holds as firmly as he can to the Sankhya. Matter is to him a reality. He speaks indeed of *Maya* ; his *Maya* however is not Matter itself, as the Vedantin believes, but the mode in which Matter, itself a profound verity, is apprehended by the mind. It is the cosmic illusion of *Maya*, the effect of the Lord's rule, that blinds the eyes of the unwise to the relation between the two eternal verities, Matter and Spirit (vii. 14, 15), and thus moves them through Desire to Works, whereby they themselves spin the threads of destiny on which they dance like puppets under the hand of the Lord (xviii. 61). And as Matter itself is to the Lord as clay in the potter's hand, He moulds it to wear this wondrous semblance,

¹ Barnett, *Gita*, Introduction, § 64.67.68.

² *Gita* vii. 4, vii. 29, vii. 30, viii. 4, xiv. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, xv. 15-18. ⁴ *Ibid.*, ix. 15. ⁵ *Ibid.*, vii. 14.25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ix. 7. 8. 10, xviii. 60.

and joins to it His own Spirit to create a world of darkness, that light may dawn therein for the elect (vii. 25); in His love and power He even stoops to clothe it in somewhat of His own essence, and comes on earth in mortal shape to guide men from darkness into light (iv. 6). This is not Vedanta. It is the pantheist's reconciliation of free-will under grace with predestination; and in faith alone can it be justified.¹

§ 14. The *Siddhanta*, while having associations with the *Rig Veda* and with the *Upanishads*, particularly the *Svetasvatara*,² possesses characteristics peculiarly its own, unborrowed from other sources, uninfluenced by earlier thought and fundamentally different from the tenets of the Vedanta. In its distinguishing features it is purely Dravidian, despite its vast commonnesses with Sanscritic philosophies. On the subject of the relation of God to phenomena the *Siddhanta* understands:—

1. That God is all, but all is not God.³
2. That God is different from all Nature and from Man.⁴
3. That Man is not God, and does not become God.⁵
4. That God is Being, and also Love⁶ and as such is Personal.⁷
5. That *Maya* is not non-existent, nor caused from God, nor is it illusion.⁸ It is cosmic matter in the processes of evolution and resolution.⁹

¹ Barnett, *Gita*, Introduction, § 72.

² On this *Upanishad* and the *Siddhanta*, see Nallaswami Pillay, *Studies*, pp. 104-9.

³ Nalla., *Bodham*, p. 17, Cf. *Gita* ix. 4.5.

⁴ See references in Nalla, *Studies*, p. 232. ⁵ *Siddhiar*, 3,6.8 9.

⁶ *Bodham*, vi. Nalla, *Studies*, p. 227.

⁷ Nalla, *Studies*, art. *Personality of God*, at p. 238.

⁸ Nalla, *Bodham*, pp. 4.65.

⁹ Nalla, *Bodham*, p. 122. On some differences between *Vedanta* and *Siddhanta* as to *Maya* see Nalla (English), *Tiruvartupayan*, 28, 29, 30. See also his *Siddhiar*, pp. 120, 178, 180.

When therefore Saint Tayumanavar¹ and other poet-saints of the *Siddhanta* school of thought speak of (மாயை) *Maya*, illusion, with reference to the world, they do but mean that 'the fashion of this world passeth away'² and that 'the things seen are temporal, the things unseen are eternal.'³

§ 15. I cannot conclude this short study of the Vedic religion, and Philosophic Brahmanism without recording my reasoned belief and dispassionate conviction that in Christ Jesus alone can the longings of the seers of the *Rig Veda*, of the thinkers of the *Upanishads*, of the lovers of the *Gita* and of the saints of the *Siddhanta* find ultimate realization. Take the fundamental doctrine of the Vedanta, 'Thou art That', and it must be admitted that, despite its extravagance of content and fallaciousness of formulation, the doctrine has, at the back of it, the highest truth of Religion so succinctly stated by St. Augustine, 'We have no rest till we rest in Thee.'⁴ The restlessness of the soul, its impatience to get Home, is an intense religious realization. The Vedanta has given this longing erroneous vividness and thereby obscured the genuineness of an instinctive craving. The craving is there, however much the daring genius of the Vedanta may have glossed it over with error. The Vedanta has reasoned from the soul's craving for God, that the soul is God, and it is God going to God, like longing for like—indeed there is no longing, no going, no soul, it is all God, God alone is, the rest

¹ See English translation of his thoughts in *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*.

² 1 Cor. vii. 31.

³ 2 Cor. iv. 18.

⁴ Conf. i. i. 1.

is illusion. It is, however, the glory of the *Siddhanta* that it has given the soul's craving for God a legitimate philosophical exposition, made that craving a basic pre-requisite of real religion, and in its statement of the realization of the soul's longing for Home deliberately stopped short of the exaggerated claims of the Vedanta—I am God. The *Siddhanta* not only postulates a personal God, it emphasises the necessity of God manifesting Himself to man for man's salvation. Hence the noticeable prominence assigned in all the *Siddhanta Scriptures*,¹ and in the devotional literature² of of the *Siddhanta*, to the teaching about a divine Guru. The coming of God as *Guru*, Teacher, is taught with unmistakeable insistence in the *Siddhanta*, in terms so clear as to lead many into supposing a Christian origin for the doctrine of the Divine Guru. The ideal of the *Siddhanta*, the man-becoming of God, is a very lofty one :—

The same Lord who, never separate, was sustaining you . . . appears as the visible Guru.

Will any person other than intimate relations know the secret disease afflicting a person ?

How can the world know Him who, without being known, came down to breathe his ' Grace ' ?

The ignorant with dark thoughts cannot feel the *Arul* (Grace) and see the *Arul-Guru*.

The world cannot know that His human form, like a decoy, is assumed for snaring men.

¹ *Bodham*, 8. *Siddhiar*, 3.8.28. *Tiruvarutpayan*, ch. v, for example.

² See the writings of Saint Manickavachakar and Saint Tayumanavar for instance.

Cease thinking, 'Of what use is He to me?' Who can learn anything as the Shastras themselves require the Divine Guru.¹

Here we have one of the great books of the *Siddhanta* declaring :

1. That God must needs come to men as the Guru, for even the old Scriptures require His illumination.
2. That God, as such Guru, assumes forms.
3. That the God-Guru is One who knows the infirmities of human nature, as an intimate relation knows the secret disease.

This last is not merely a reason for God's Man-becoming but a requisite in the God-Guru, so that He might be in sympathy with the soul's infirmities. The Vedanta boldly abridges all distance between man and God by its daring equation—I am God. The *Siddhanta*, more rightly, and consistently with its environments of *Rig Vedic* realism, and Brahmanic avatars, enunciates the man-becoming of God as a preliminary to the possibilities of the God-becomingness of man. The Vedanta, undauntedly postulating identity of essence, takes a leap from manhood into the Godhead; the *Siddhanta* interposes the man-becomingness of God between man and man's Maker. Man is not God, it says, God is not man, yet God assumes the form of man that He may teach men the secret of the Grace which is to give men the means of attaining the fullness of the stature of God-likeness. At first the *Siddhanta* ideal may seem to stand in the place of the Christian view of the incarnation. In reality it is not so.

1. The *avatars* and other appearances of God in the Hindu books are only forms. The *Siddhanta* lays stress

¹ *Tiruvartupayan*, v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

on the *forms*¹ assumed by God. These manifestations are not incarnations, just, indeed, as the theophanies of the Old Testament were not.

2. In forms, the ideal, to have a Guru who will know the soul's disease, is imperfectly realized. In the Incarnation alone is the ideal fully realized. That God took on Him the *nature* of man, and the *form* of man is Christian teaching. This is the furthest point of God's man-becomingness.

3. The *Siddhanta*² will not have the idea of God being subjected to the limitations of birth and death.

We have in the New Testament, without a doubt, the last word on the man-becomingness of God. The revelation is there of the Word made flesh,³ of God taking on Himself not the nature of super-human beings but of man,⁴ that He might sympathize with human infirmities,⁵ as an intimate relation knowing one's secret disease,⁶ and be an intercessor encompassed with and subject to man's limitations, tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin.⁷ The New Testament thus fulfils the prophetic foreshadowings of the religions of the world,

¹ *Siddhiyar*, 3. 1. 39. *Ibid.*, 41. *Ibid.*, 46, 47.

² Nallaswami Pillai, *Studies*, pp. 242, 249. In the *Gita* x. 11 Krishna speaks of himself as 'the lord of born beings' and one who often 'enters a mortal frame', and earlier (iv. 6, 7) he says, 'Though birthless and unchanging of essence . . . I come into birth by mine own magic. I bring myself to *bodied birth*.' From a Hindu Theosophical point of view Mr. Subba Rao discusses *avatars*, Krishna's in particular, in his *Lectures on the Study of the Bhagavad Gita*, p. 69. On Vishnu *avatars*, see Bhandarkar, *V.S.*, p. 41.

³ St. John i. 14.

⁴ Heb. ii. 16. (The Revised Version does not destroy this sense.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. 15. The 'body' in the *Siddhanta* is fraught with perils to the soul and no more satisfying man-becomingness there could be than one in which the Deity is associated with the human body, not mere *form* (see Heb. ii. 14, 15).

⁶ *Tiruvavutpayan*, already cited.

⁷ Heb. ii. 18, iv. 15.

and affords the only adequate realization of the *Siddhanta* ideal of the God-Guru. How full this realization is may be seen by the fact of God being declared *born* for men, a very man, and *dying* for men, so that the man-become God should not escape the last limitation of man, death. One appreciates the hesitancy of the *Siddhanta* to accept the teaching of a God born *but to die*, but such hesitancy need not exist when the New Testament triumphantly asserts from the first¹ that Jesus Christ *rose again from the dead*. The New Testament not only speaks the last word on the man-becomingness of God, but it has the last word on the God-becomingness of man. Jesus Christ died to enable man to be dead to sin,² and He rose again from the dead to enable man to rise with Him.³ Again :

We all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory.⁴ Now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when He shall appear we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is.⁵

This is the New Testament idea of the God-becomingness of man, this is man's certain hope, and the hope prompts him to practical preparation⁶ for the abundant life in God, for the life that now is and

¹ 1 Thess. iv. 14. (This is the earliest of St. Paul's Epistles, if not the earliest book of the New Testament. *Galatians* and *Ep. of S. James* have also supporters for the first place). Acts ii. 32.

² Rom. vi. 2-11.

³ *Ibid.*, vi. 4, xiv. 9, iv. 24.

⁴ 2 Cor. ii. 18. Col. iii. 4.

⁵ 1 John iii. 2. 2 Peter i. 4. On the 'deification' of man see *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, p. 184-190.

⁶ 1 John iii. 3. Col. iii. 1, 2, 3.

for the life that is to be. Man realizes in this life the beginnings of God-becomingness, for the model Man, the Lord become Man, the Divine Guru in whom are fulfilled all God's promises to humanity, has given the soul this assurance: 'Abide in Me and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye except ye abide in Me.'¹

¹ St. John xv. 4. In view of the recent discussions in England and in India as to the Deity of Christ I have thought it necessary to refer to the subject in an Additional Note, E.

CHAPTER IX

A SONG BEFORE THE SUNRISE

§ 1. The nature worship of the *Rig Veda*, its monotheism in an atmosphere of polytheism, gave place to a highly ceremonial form of faith in which the Vedic privilege of man being free to deal directly with his Maker became the monopoly of a formidable priesthood which set up a barrier of elaborate ritual between mortals and their aspirations¹ after immortality. The priests, said the Scriptures of the period, are themselves gods.² Men had lost the vision their forefathers had of the One many-wise seen, many-wise named, and were forced to the contemplation of the concrete divinities an overbearing sacerdotalism had called into being. A joyous confusion characteristic of the Vedic conception of the Divine had completely disappeared long before a body of men claimed to formulate the verities in terms of finality. Formulæ suffice for a time, till the mind asks no questions. As always with men, so in the early days in post-Vedic India, it was speedily found true that there is a danger in reducing the *whole* of religion to dogma and definition on the theoretical side, and to symbols, signs and ceremonies on the practical. Safety lies where an unrealized residue is left after the most positive

¹ See above, ch. iv, § 16.

² See above, ch. vii, § 6.

pronouncements of organized religion.¹ There must remain the quest of an elusive unknowable to be pursued through faith-lit vistas of hope till the quest shall end in the fruition of love, and the seeker who sees darkly now shall then know even as he shall be known.² There was a time when Aryan thinkers revolted against the credal restraints of the Aryan church. Dissatisfied with the emptiness of ceremonials and the barrenness of rites they were driven from bare externals to meditate upon the immutable and eternal verities which lay at the back of liturgy and ritual. From formalism and pharisaism, not for the only time in the history of religions, men went to philosophy. The positiveness of credal certainties, as so often in the history of religions, paved the way for large negations. Even intellectualism, such as was represented by the *Upanishads*, did not always convince. The formularies failed to minister to the soul. Philosophy was too frozen to touch the heart. Where sin abounded, men were led to think, life much more abounded, for the wages of sin was Life. Was there a way of escape? The genius of Kapila³ who lives in Buddhist tradition as the first

¹ 'We have a more complex system . . . and weaker life, and poorer truth.' (Baldwin Brown, quoted in *The Expositor*, April, 1921, p. 302). 'A sound and orthodox creed . . . is a sort of canned fruit . . . hermetically sealed and correctly labelled which will keep for years without decay.' (J. A. Gordon, quoted in *Hastings' Great Texts*, St. Luke, p. 11). See Mrs. Wootton's *The Use and Abuse of Organized Religion in The Hibbert Journal*, January, 1921, p. 230.

² 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 1 John iii. 2.

³ 'The idea that in this verse (*Svetasvatara Upanishad* v. 2) we are to see the first mention of the founder of the Samkhya as a real person is too fantastic to be seriously upheld, though it is not at all unlikely that the origin of the doctrine of Kapila as the founder of the

Samkhyan and the predecessor of Gautama Buddha brushed aside parable and poem, allegory and analogy, with which the thinkers of the *Upanishads* had striven to demonstrate the identity of the inmost self of the individual with the all-pervading Supreme Self, and he reasoned out the Samkhya system of salvation from the peril of being born. It recognized only two eternal essentials, soul and matter. It eliminated God. By knowledge, it taught, was salvation from the flow of existence possible. While the *Upanishads* opposed reason and intellect to religion and ritual, the Samkhya exalted reason as absolute and expunged from the postulates and prepossessions of religion the idea of God. Kapila, to call the founder of the Samkhya by his traditional name, was thus the first great Indian rationalist with whom is associated a system which has left its mark in one form or another upon later Indian thought. The Samkhya, though not the books of the philosophy, was anterior to, if indeed it did not contribute something towards, Buddhism.¹ The rationalism of the Samkhya was atheistic, that of Buddhism² agnostic. The former conceded a soul, the latter disintegrated it. Now, almost parallel at least to one of the two rationalistic philosophies,

Samkhya is to be traced to this passage. . . . Kapila is not a human personage at all.' (Keith, *The Samkhya System*, pp. 8, 10). 'The very existence of such a person as Kapila has been doubted in spite of the unanimity with which Indian tradition designates a man of this name as the founder of the (Samkhya) system' (Macdonell, *S. L.*, pp. 390-3). See Garbe, *P. A. I.*, p. 10. Barnett, *Gita*, § 11. See on 'Kapila' in *Svetasvatara Upanishad* v, 2, Max Muller in *S.B.E.* xv. pp. xxxviii-xl.

¹ See Keith, *The Samkhya System*, ch. ii.

² See below, Ch. X.

there was the influence of a reactionary and corrective system which lured men away from investigation to concentration. It was the Yoga¹ philosophy. It adopted the Samkhya ideas, framed Deity in a Samkhya setting and endeavoured² to accommodate philosophical theory to superstitious practice. The Yoga saved Hinduism from being altogether atheistic. Nevertheless it was a half-measure. Its theism was merely a compromise. It recognized a God, not as supreme or even essential, but as an aider in the course of salvation by knowledge. It aimed at the systematic repression of the normal processes of the sense-organs as a step preliminary to the possession of the higher powers of enlightenment and exaltation in a plane of beatific unconsciousness, where, the veil of ignorance gradually lifted, and, in the light of knowledge, the last lingering shadows thrown upon the soul by past births and deeds passing away, the soul, untrammelled dwells in singleness and solitude, for evermore and for evermore. It was a godless singleness—the goal of the Yoga-led soul, sheer solitude.

§ 2. The history of a religion is not infrequently the history of reactions. The atheism of the Samkhya, the agnosticism of Gautama, and the colourless theism of the Yoga prepared the way for the revolt that finds expression in the *Bhagavad Gita*, 'the Song of the Adorable One'. The *Gita*

¹ As to its date, and the date of the *Yoga-Sutra*, see Keith, S.S., ch. iv. Barnett, *Gita*, § 23, considers the traditional ascription of the *Yoga-Sutra* to Patanjali, the grammarian, 'probably correct'.

² Barnett, *Gita*, § 24.

represents a reaction. Its author, whose name is not preserved in Indian religious tradition, somewhere between about two hundred years before, and one hundred after Christ¹, evolved, out of the old materials at his disposal, a philosophy that had points of contact with those current in his time and yet transcended them all by its postulating a Personal God to whom men might offer not only prayer and praise but the very love of their hearts, and from Whom they had a right to expect the reciprocation of gifts of goodwill and grace. The author of this revolutionary philosophy which in this respect linked itself to the personal conceptions of God in Vedic religion effaced himself, went nameless, thereby enhancing his claim of the sanction of Divine and direct revelation for it. We are transported in the *Gita* to the golden age of man's simplicity when he was unafraid to claim the gods as his friends and kinsfolk.² God is intensely personified in closeness of kinship as father, mother, grandsire,³ and he is said to 'come into birth age after age' for the good of men.⁴ The idea of a God emerges out of the nebulousness of philosophic Brahmanism⁵ into the light of personality. In the *Gita* the conception of God is for the first time in Hinduism carried to the uttermost point to which that complex religion had ever pushed the possibility of the personality of God. The *Gita* thus, with all its misconceptions, compromises and obscurities, gives proof of the foregleams,

¹ For date see below, § 3.

² See above, ch. v, § 3.

³ *Gita* ix. 17. Bhandarkar, *V.S.*, p. 20.

⁴ *Gita* iv. 8.

⁵ See above, ch. viii.

vouchsafed to the men of its age, of the Gospel fact of God made flesh.

§ 3. The *Gita* according to internal evidence represents what was told in 700 slokas in eighteen lessons to Arjuna by Krishna. The army of the Pandavas had been drawn up in battle array against that of the Kauravas. The shell-trumpets had sounded their challenges from the opposing hosts and Arjuna of the Pandavas, standing in his great car drawn by white steeds, was about to put to destructive use Gandhiva, his famous bow, when his heart quailed with compunction at the havoc his hands would cause among the ranks of the enemy, his own kith and kin. 'He was stricken by compassion and despair, with clouded eyes, full of tears.'¹ So the chariot was 'set midway between the two armies'² and 'Arjuna sat down on the seat of his chariot in the field of war, and he let fall his bow and arrows for his heart was heavy with sorrow.'³ As Arjuna 'sat despairing between the two hosts,' Krishna 'with seeming smile spoke to him'.⁴

The learned grieve not for them whose lives are fled, nor for them whose lives are not fled.

This (the Body-Dweller) slays not, neither is it slain. . . . To the born sure is death, to the dead sure is birth. The body's tenant may not be wounded in the bodies of any beings. Therefore thou doest not well to sorrow for any born beings. Looking likewise on thine own (caste) law, thou shouldst not be dismayed, for to a knight there is nothing more blest than a noble strife.

If thou wilt not wage this lawful battle, then wilt thou fail thine own law and thine own honour and get sin. If thou be slain, thou shalt win Paradise ; if thou conquer thou

¹ *Gita* ii. 1.² *Ibid.*, i. 24.³ *Ibid.*, i. 47.⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 10.

shalt have the joys of the earth ; therefore rise up resolute for the fray.

Holding in indifference alike pleasure and pain, gain and loss, conquest and defeat, make thyself ready for the fight ; thus shalt thou get no sin.¹

The matter strictly relevant to the embarrassment of the Pandava warrior occupies a small portion (much of it we have seen above) of the second lesson of seventy-two verses. From question to answer, and answer to question, the dialogue between Arjuna and Krishna is carried on, however, to the wearying length of eighteen lessons of heavy philosophical disquisition, as Arjuna was seated in his chariot midway between the two armies which were waiting 'in array wishful for battle.'² The third party present at the discourse was Sanjaya, who had been deputed (as we gather from the account of the ten-day war in the *Mahabharata*)³ by the blind chief of the Kauravas to report on the course of the war, and it was Sanjaya who duly reported to that chief this dialogue.

Now this battle-field origin of the *Gita* is a thing inherently improbable. If we suppose that it represents some internal, mental or spiritual combat of Arjuna and a divine solution of his bewilderment, and that the solution was communicated to him in a flash of inspiration which reduced the limitations of time and place to a minimum, and that, without audible words, the whole discourse

¹ *Gita.*, ii. 11, 19, 27, 30, 31, 33, 37, 38. It is interesting to speculate whether the *Gita* is an allegory built on the figure of the chariot, its occupant, the horses, the charioteer, the reins, the road, the journey's end in *Kathopanishad* i. 3. 3-9. *Svetasvatara Upanishad* ii. 9.

² *Ibid.*, i. 21, 22.

³ *Bhishma Parva*, ch. xxv-xlii.

was made to him in some supernatural manner, similar to the manifestation of the Divine form in the eleventh lesson, we should be supposing a very great deal and taking a considerable amount on trust, and we should also be assuming that Sanjaya participated in the illumination vouchsafed to Arjuna, even as Sanjaya had vision (this is one of the inconsistencies of the book) of 'God' never 'beheld in such shape in the world of men by any *but*' Arjuna.¹ To the statement in the *Mahabharata* that Vyasa² had secured for Sanjaya the office of war-correspondent at Kurukshetra if we add the tradition that Vyasa was the author of the epic, then we are to suppose that Sanjaya having seen and heard all that had passed between Arjuna and Krishna reported the same to Vyasa also who, in course of time, incorporated the episode into the epic in its rightful sequence. Sanjaya and Vyasa are thus sharers in the authorship of the *Gita*, fully the *Bhagavad Gita*, the Lord's Song or the Divine Lay, called also the *Upanishad* sung by God,³ or the Song of the Adorable One.

§ 4. Whether we confine the Arjuna-Krishna tradition to the first eighty-five verses which deal with the former's doubts and the latter's dispelling of them, or extend its application to the entire *Gita* as we now have it, there is a circumstance which should be taken into account in appraising the value of the tradition. It is the ascription of the origin of the

¹ *Gita* xi. 48.52.

² *Ibid.*, xviii. 75. Krishna and Arjuna seem totally to have ignored the presence of Sanjaya.

³ Telang, in *S.B.E.* viii. 34.

Anugita, a composition of thirty-six long chapters, to a discourse by Krishna to Arjuna on 'philosophy' not long *after* the battle of Kurukshetra, when the Pandavas had slain their enemies and Krishna and Arjuna dwelt in delight 'in a lovely palace'.¹ Arjuna had forgotten, he said, the *Gita*. He is rebuked for his 'degenerate mind, lack of faith and defective intellect,'² and the lesson of the *Gita* is taught Arjuna in a different way. This supplement to the *Gita* is the *Anugita*. If the observation³ is correct that the *Anugita* pictures a state of society considerably in advance of what is portrayed in the *Gita* and that 'the interval between the *Gita* and the *Anugita* must have been one of larger extent than *three or four centuries*,' then obviously Arjuna was *not* living at the time of the *Anugita* discourse. The dialogue is then false in its claim to be related to Arjuna and is wrongly placed where it stands.

The ante-dating of the *Anugita* by inserting it into an ill-fitting context need not necessarily affect our estimate of the *Gita* prejudicially. The only thing is it makes one feel suspicious. The *Gita* is not in good company. Have we reasons to consider the claims of the *Gita* better founded than those put forward on behalf of the *Anugita*?

¹ *Anugita*, ch. i. The text in *S.B.E.* viii. is not divided into verses.

² *Ibid.*, ch. i.

³ Telang, in *S.B.E.* viii. 207-12. Telang, p. 215, assigns the *Anugita* to the fourth century B.C. 'The original form of our epic came into being about the fifth century B.C.' Macdonell, *S.L.*, 285.

§ 5. Assuming the unity of the *Gita* we may examine the contents of the book for evidence, not indeed of exact or even approximate date, but of some chronological relativity. Indications may be seen in (1) names of persons, (2) other names, and (3) the thought of the work.

Of names of persons that of Vyasa is most appropriate to begin with. A Vyasa is the reputed arranger of the *Rig Veda*.¹ Hindu tradition ascribes to him the *Mahabharata*, and the arranging of the eighteen Puranas.² Vyasa is also the grand-father of Arjuna.³ In the *Gita* Sanjaya is grateful to Vyasa for having enabled him to hear Krishna's discourse, Vyasa being treated as undoubtedly a contemporary.⁴ When, however, Krishna says, 'Of saintly men I am Vyasa'⁵ is the reference to a contemporary, or is it not rather to one whose name had by the time the words were spoken come to be well-known, *the* Vyasa? That Krishna says, 'Of the Pandavas I am the *Wealth-winner*,'⁶ that is Arjuna, may mean too that he is referring to the famous warrior, Arjuna, the *Wealth-winner*, after he had become so reputed. The claim that the words were spoken to Arjuna himself is, an anachronism. The Tenth Lesson is against the unity of the book and the Kurukshetra chronology. Arjuna, it may be noted, refers to *Vyasa* as among those who had known the divinity of Krishna,

¹ See above, ch. iii, § 13.

² *Tamil Classical Dictionary*, s. v. Vyasa. Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, p. 371. *Mahabharata*, *Adi Parva* and *Svargha Rohana Parva*.

³ *Adi Parva*. ⁴ *Gita* xviii 75. ⁵ *Ibid.*, x 13. ⁶ *Ibid.*, x. 37.

'Thus have all the saints named Thee . . . and Vyasa . . . and so Thou tellest me Thyself.'¹ Vyasa, thus, was not a contemporary either of Arjuna or Krishna.

Arjuna in the same context refers to Narada the god-saint. Krishna says, 'Of the great saints I am *Bhrigu* . . . of god-saints *Narada*.'² These are two of the 'ten great sages' already famous in the time of *Manu*.³ It is precarious to infer the dependence of either book on the other. At the same time the opinion that the *Gita* and *Manu* belong to the third stage of the *Mahabharata* seems well founded.⁴

The references to Kapila the holy,⁵ and to ancient seers and seekers⁶ are without doubt to teachers who had long before the *Gita* passed into history and legend and whose teaching had become current in the age of the *Gita* when there were men 'simple' who could make a distinction between the Samkhya and the Yoga tenets, and likewise the 'learned' who made none.⁷

In Krishna's claim, 'Of the Rudras I am *San-kara*',⁸ we detect a tendency in the composer of the *Gita* to equalize⁹ Krishna (Vishnu) with Rudra-Siva¹⁰ whose cult had prior to the age of the *Gita* become one of recognizable importance. It is Siva

¹ *Gita* x. 13.

² *Ibid.*, x. 25.26.

³ i. 35. Bühler, *S.B.E.* xxv. places the composition of the *Code* in the first century A.D. See above, ch. vii, § 9.

⁴ Farquhar, *O.R.L.I.*, p. 86. *Gita and Gospel*, p. 11.

⁵ *Gita* x. 26.

⁶ iv. 15.

⁷ v. 4.

⁸ *Gita* x. 23.

⁹ The catholicity of the *Gita* is elastic enough to include all faiths in the Krishna cult. *Gita* ix. 23.

¹⁰ See above, ch. v, § 8.

who is known as Sankara. The name does not occur earlier than the end of the *Satarudriya*, a Rudra hymn of the *Black Yajur Veda*. The *Gita* presupposes, and is later than, the *Satarudriya*. The *Satarudriya* is later than the *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, which is a *Black Yajur Upanishad* belonging to the period 500-300 B.C.¹ It is a Saiva Upanishad, though I do not thereby imply at all that it is a sectarian treatise.² The writer of the *Gita* was acquainted with it, for he quotes from it and makes use of many thoughts of that Saiva Upanishad and gives them a transcendent meaning, culminating in the supremacy of Krishna-Vasudeva.³ The *Gita* author was not only a reader of the *Svetasvatara* but lived at a time when the Siva cult had widely spread. It was long after Kurukshetra.

No definite chronological conclusion can be drawn from the reference, explicit or implied, in the *Gita* to various schools of Hindu thought, e.g., the Purvamimamsa,⁴ the Samkhya, the Yoga,⁵ and the Lokayatas.⁶ A theosophical writer thinks that the book treats of Samkhya Yoga, Karma Yoga, Jnana Yoga, Karma Sanyasa Yoga, and Atma Sanyasa Yoga.⁷ The *Gita* belongs to an age when the Yoga philosophy was known, it is submitted, as a system. Else the statement of Krishna

¹ Farquhar, *O.R.L.I.*, p. 58, quoting Oldenberg and Keith.

² That it is neither sectarian nor modern is shown by Max Müller, *S.B.E.* xv. pp. xxxi-xliii.

³ See below, § 9, for instances.

⁴ *Gita* ii. 42.

⁵ iii. 3.

⁶ xvi. 7.

⁷ Subba Row, *Lectures on Study of Bhagavad Gita*, p. 170. *Gita* v. 6-12 refer to Kriya Yoga, and 13-16 to Raja Yoga. Telang (*S.B.E.* vii. 10) thinks that in the *Gita* we have the *germs* of the Yoga system but no ready-made system.

Thus was this Rule passed down in order, and kingly sages learned it, but by length of time . . . it has been lost here ¹

cannot have much meaning. The reference is to an old, well-known system that had fallen into disuse and been forgotten before the *Gita* came to be written. Therefore it is that Krishna proceeds to 'declare the Ancient Rule. . . a most high mystery' afresh.² Had the *Yoga-Sutra* come into being before the time of the *Gita*? Is the *Gita* alluding to the *Yoga-Sutra*? An affirmative answer, which is not necessarily the only explanatory one, would bring the *Gita* to about the fourth century A.D., the author of the *Yoga-Sutra* not being the grammarian Patanjali.³ While it is true that traces of Yoga lore have existed in India from very early times, the mention of it as a communicated knowledge, once in use and then lost, must presuppose the existence of a system, and a system naturally associates itself with a text-book. In this connection attention may be drawn to such expressions as 'thus we have heard,'⁴ 'they say,'⁵ 'thus all the saints,'⁶ 'is known,'⁷ and to the mention of 'teaching books,'⁸ 'ordinances,'⁹ and 'Psalms and Brahma-Sutras.'¹⁰ We are entitled to infer from these the existence of fixed teaching and of well-known and used books at the time of the composition of the *Gita*. Lines of chronological

¹ *Gita* iv. 2.

² iv. 3.

³ Farquhar, *O.R.L.I.* pp. 131-2. Keith, *S.S.*, p. 57.

⁴ *Gita* i. 44.

⁵ iii. 42.

⁶ x. 13.

⁷ xvii. 23.

⁸ xvi. 23.

⁹ xvii. 13.

¹⁰ xiii. 4. This may mean the *Brahma Sutra* ascribed to Vyasa or the Rules in *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad* iii, iv. 7.

inquiry are suggested by the omission of all mention of the *Atharva Veda*,¹ and of the exaltation of the *Sama Veda*.²

An important age-indication, it seems to me, may be followed up with advantage in the description of Krishna by Arjuna :

I would fain see Thee in the same guise (as before) with *diadem*, with *mace*, with *disc* in hand. Assume that same *four-armed* shape. . . .³

Now it was not thus that Arjuna had seen and known Krishna prior to the manifestation of the 'grim form . . . the Supreme Form . . . beheld not for study of Vedas, not for sacrifices, not for almsgiving, not for works, not for dire mortifications.'⁴ Arjuna had known Krishna in 'pleasant manlike shape.'⁵ Krishna was the human charioteer⁶ of Arjuna, and was not old having been born within the memory of Arjuna.⁷ Arjuna had always before treated him as a human equal, sometimes inferior, speaking to him lightly, 'O Krishna !' 'O Yadava !' 'O Comrade !' or in friendliness or in fun at play, at meals, at bedtime, in the company of guests or alone.⁸ *We have thus absolutely no manner of reason to think that Arjuna had ever, prior to the stage of the Eleventh Lesson, known Krishna as one not human, as one with 'diadem, and mace and disc . . . four armed.'*

The author of the *Gita* (the author, more correctly perhaps, of the Eleventh Lesson) puts

¹ *Gita* ix. 17. 21. ² x. 22. See Telang, *S.B.E.*, pp. 18-20.

³ xi. 46. There are, it would seem, three forms of Krishna in this Lesson, one in xi. 15.31, another in xi. 46, a third 'a mild human form' in xi. 50.51

⁴ xi. 31. 47.48. ⁵ xi. 51. ⁶ i. 21. ⁷ iv. 4. ⁸ xi. 41.42.

into the mouth of Arjuna words reflecting *the age of temples and images*. The four arms, the *diadem*, *mace* and *disc*, are invariably in all images of Vishnu (Krishna), likewise too the conch, *panchajanya*.¹ It may be that there is very strong evidence of 'the existence during the three or four centuries before Christ of a religion with Vasudeva as its central figure.'² Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao thinks that 'the worship of Vasudeva in temples in India cannot be later than the second century B.C.'³ At the same time evidence is not forthcoming of any *image* of Vishnu (Krishna-Vasudeva) of the second century before Christ. It is not till A.D. 401 that we have the first piece of iconographic testimony to the cult of Vishnu in India, and between A.D. 401 and A.D. 529 there is a number of temple inscriptions relating to Vishnu and to Siva. Upon the facts the conclusion is undoubtedly reasonable that 'the two Hindu cults of Siva and Vishnu were in an advanced condition in the fifth century A.D.,' but it does not necessarily follow that 'they must have had behind them many centuries of development.'⁴ It is because of this iconographic evidence, there being none earlier than the fifth century A.D., that I desire to suggest the view that the author of the *Gita* (or a redactor if I must go that length) *had seen images of Vishnu*

¹ *Gita* i. 15. See T.A. Gopinatha Rao's *Hindu Iconography* i., Part i., pp.3-4.

² Bhandarkar, *V.S.*, p. 4. See Keith, *S.S.*, p. 29; Cave, *Redemption*, p. 101.

³ *Hindu Iconography* i, Introduction, p. 7. See *Svetasvatara Upanishad* iv. 19 for proof of images at its date.

⁴ *Hind. Icon.* i, p. 8.

in the period of which we have proof as to their existence and incorporated the details into the book which opens with thinly-veiled Vaishnavite prepossessions in the putting into the hand of Arjuna's charioteer Vishnu's *panchajanya sankha*.¹ The age when the two cults, the Saiva and the Vaishnavite, flourished, as never before, was probably one in which rival legends were current of the glories of Siva and of Vishnu. Was it the age of the *Siva Puranam* which makes Vishnu's disc a gift from Siva? Whether it was so or not, the Vaishnavite author (or authors) of the *Gita* may be considered to have succeeded in the endeavour to make Vishnu (Krishna-Vasudeva) 'the God of Gods,'² 'the Imperishable . . . the Supreme Verity,'³ at whose praise 'the world is moved to delight and love.'⁴

§ 6. The assumption, so far, has been that the *Gita* is a literary unity. Its inconsistencies of thought, however, suggest its composite character. It is said⁵ that the man of the Rule is greater than the man of knowledge,⁶ and also that most excellent is the man of knowledge.⁷ Yet again, meditation is higher than knowledge.⁸ The 'excellent' position of knowledge appears to be

¹ *Gita* i. 15. Long before we reach the Eleventh Lesson we find in the *Gita* proofs of the author's prepossessions in the titles of Divinity given to Krishna—Mahdu's Lord (i. 14), Never-Falling (i. 21), Lord of the Herds (i. 32), Troubler of the Folk (i. 36), The great Lord of all worlds (v. 29), Vasudeva (vii. 19), The Supreme Way (vii. 18). It is not suggested that the *whole* of the *Gita* belongs to Christian times. See Farquhar, *O.R.L.I.*, p. 92.

² *Gita* xi. 13.

³ xi. 37.

⁴ xi. 36.

⁵ See Telang, *S.B.E.* viii, p. 11 for some inconsistencies of the *Gita*.

⁶ *Gita* vi. 46.

⁷ vii. 17.

⁸ xii. 12.

viewed differently, by different minds. The Supreme, it is stated, takes not unto Himself the sin or any merit of any man.¹ Later, it is laid down that Krishna is the Lord and enjoyer of all sacrifices and penances.² 'How, it may well be asked, can the Supreme Being enjoy that which He does not even receive?'³ The Lord creates not for the world either power of work, or works, or union of fruit with works; it is its own Nature that moves.⁴ Yet, the male dwelling in Nature feels the moods born of Nature, and his attachment to the moods is the cause of birth in good or evil wombs.⁵ Krishna is represented as saying, 'I am indifferent to all born beings; there is none whom I hate, none whom I love.'⁶ Yet, there are men dear to him, exceedingly dear,⁷ and others whom he hurls ceaselessly into demonic wombs⁸.

Mr. Justice Telang, discussing some of the above passages, considers them to be 'real inconsistencies in the *Gita*,' but he concludes that they indicate a mind making guesses at truth, and touching at half-truths. The learned writer infers from the unsystematic character of the book that it belongs to the same class of literature as the older *Upanishads*.⁹ He does not deal with the possibility of composite authorship being responsible for the inexplicable inconsistencies. That throughout the book there is reference to Arjuna's reluctance to fight his foes,¹⁰ or that the eighteen lessons are

¹ *Gita* v. 15. ² v. 29, ix, 24. ³ Telang, *S.B.E.* viii, p. 12.

⁴ *Gita*. v. 15. ⁵ xii. 21. ⁶ ix. 29.

⁷ xii. 16.17.19. 20. ⁸ xvi. 16-19.

⁹ *S.B.E.*, vol. viii, pp. 12, 13 ¹⁰ *Gita* i. 37, ii. 6, iv. 42, vi. 9, xi. 26, 33, 34.

divisible into three sections,¹ is consistent with unity as well as with the composite character of the *Gita*.

§ 7. What is the idea of salvation in the *Gita*? It is in the first place *release from the possibility of re-birth*, and then a great deal more. It is an error to discuss the great thoughts of the book apart from the Hindu atmosphere of every section of it. The atmosphere is charged with the oppressive dread of transmigration. Among the opening verses of Krishna's utterances we read what is one of the assumptions of Hindu theology:

As a man lays aside outworn garments and takes others that are new, so that Body-Dweller puts away outworn bodies and goes to others that are new To the born sure is death, to the dead sure is birth.²

Neither Brahmanism as it was before Gautama, nor Buddhism as a reformed faith,³ ever got rid of karma-transmigration. The *Gita* promises to such as follow the Krishna creed that—

1. They shall 'go to a land where no sickness is.'⁴
2. They shall 'loose themselves from the Bond of Birth.'⁵
3. They shall be 'saved from the great dread.'⁶
4. They shall 'come not again to birth.'⁷
5. They shall be 'delivered from births.'⁸
6. They shall have no more 'wanderings'.⁹

These promises are for such as strictly adhere to the rules linked to each promise. The case, however, is conceived of men who run the risk of being re-born on earth after they once 'win to the

¹ Subba Row, *Lectures*, p. 163.

² *Gita* ii. 22, 27

³ See below, ch. xi.

⁴ *Gita* ii. 51

⁵ ii. 51.

⁶ ii. 40.

⁷ iv. 9; v. 17; xiii. 23.

⁸ viii. 15, 16; xiv. 2, 20; xv. 6.

⁹ xii. 7; ix. 3.

worlds of them that do godly deeds and dwell there changeless years.¹ Many men, however much they follow the three *Vedas* and are even 'cleansed of sin,' and win 'as meed of righteousness the world of the Lord of gods, tasting in heaven the heavenly delights of the gods', return to earth 'after a season in paradise.'² It is 'through many births' that the Yogin gains to adeptship.³ Salvation from births is salvation from actions and by implication from sins. It is thus we must understand a great deal of what is intended by 'release from sins'⁴ and 'deliverance from sins.'⁵ Indeed it is expressly stated, 'Thou shalt be released from the bonds of works, fair or foul of fruit . . . Thou shalt be delivered and come to Me.'⁶ The man whose salvation is not assured in this life is hurled into numberless births, and he takes 'the lower way' with little prospect of the journey's end.⁷ This is as much the result of karma as Krishna's own doing.⁸ It is Hell.⁹

The attainment of salvation in the present life is taught in the *Gita*. The man whose sense-instruments are unattached to sense-objects 'has wisdom abidingly set'.¹⁰ He possesses the capacity for adeptship.¹¹ If worldly duties are done without craving, 'free from attachment,' the doer 'gets no defilement'.¹² When one has cast off by power of

¹ *Gita* vi. 41.

² ix. 20. 21. 'Paradise' is a temporary heaven, ii. 32. 37. 43.

³ vi. 45. ⁴ x. 3. ⁵ xviii. 66. ⁶ ix. 28. ⁷ xvi. 20.

⁸ xvi. 19. 'These that hate me, I hurl unceasingly into dæmonic wombs.'

⁹ xvi. 16-21. Cf. i. 44.

¹⁰ ii. 61-8.

¹¹ iii. 20.

¹² iv. 4; v. 7.

mind all works, the Body-Dweller abides in pleasantness and mastery in the nine-gated city, neither working nor moving to work.'¹ The unattached, indifferent, enlightened ones, 'whose minds abide in indifference are victorious over birth in this world, for Brahma is stainless and indifferent, and therefore they abide in Brahma.'² So, in this life 'strict-minded saintly men who have cast away love and wrath and know the Self are compassed around by *Nirvana* in Brahma.'³ The man of knowledge and discernment realizes the Supreme even in the hour of death.⁴

The eschatology of the *Gita* seems to be made up of different strata of thought reconcilable with considerable difficulty.⁵ The final state of the 'saved' is described in various ways. Some of the principal passages may be given here.

i. The saved soul's lot whether here or hereafter is expressed in terms of 'peace'.

(1) He whom all loves enter as waters enter the full and immovably established ocean wins to peace.⁶

(2) The man who casts off all desire . . . comes unto peace. This is the state of abiding in Brahma. If at his last hours he dwell in it he passes to *Nirvana* in Brhama.⁷

(3) Having won knowledge he comes to supreme peace.⁸

(4) The saintly man . . . ever void of desire, fear and wrath, is in truth delivered. Knowing that I am He whom sacrifice and austerity touch . . . he wins to peace.⁹

(5) Following the Rule, putting aside the fruit of works, one wins to fundamental peace.¹⁰

¹ *Gita* v. 13.

² v. 19.

³ v. 26. See below ch. xi, §. 7.

⁴ vii. 30; viii. 5.

⁵ See above, ch. viii, § 13.

⁶ *Gita* ii. 70.

⁷ ii. 71. 72.

⁸ iv. 39.

⁹ v. 29.

¹⁰ v. 12.

(6) In him that has conquered self and come to peace the Supreme Self abides in consent.¹

(7) Even a doer of exceeding evil that worships Me with undivided worship . . . of right purpose . . . comes to lasting peace.²

(8) The Lord dwells in the heart of all born beings . . . By His grace thou shalt win supreme peace.³

(9) The strict-minded man of the Rule comes to the peace that ends in extinction and that abides with Me.⁴

The tranquillity spoken of in the *Gita* is variously understandable. It is a state attainable in this life. It has possibilities of a higher condition. It is equivalent to *Nirvana* (1) in Brahma, and (2) *Nirvana* that abides with Krishna-Vasudeva.

2. Salvation is a going-along-the-Way to the Supreme.

(1) The man that does his work without attachment wins to the Supreme.⁵

(2) The man of the Rule . . . brought to adeptship through many births goes thence by the Way Supreme.⁶

(3) He with the spirit under the Rule sets himself to the Supreme Way—and that am I.⁷

(4) Even they that be born of sin . . . if they turn to Me come to the Supreme path.⁸

(5) Seeing the Lord indifferently lodging everywhere . . . he goes to the Supreme Way.⁹

(6) They who perceive with the eye of knowledge the difference between Dwelling and Dwelling-Knower and the deliverance from the nature of born beings come to the Supreme.¹⁰

¹ *Gita* vi. 7.

² ix. 31.

³ xviii. 62.

⁴ vi. 15. Extinction = *Nirvana*.

⁵ iii. 19.

⁶ vi. 45.

⁷ vii. 19. 'with (his) self-devoted to abstraction has taken to me as the goal than which there is nothing higher.' (Telang's Translation.)

⁸ *Gita* ix. 32.

⁹ xiii. 28.

¹⁰ xiii. 34.

(7) Released from the three gates of darkness a man works bliss for his self ; thence goes to the Supreme Way.¹

The ' Supreme Way ' is the highest goal.

3. Salvation is described as a state in relativity to Brahma. There is a road to Brahma.² There is the possibility of being made fit for Brahma-hood.³

1. This is the state of *abiding* in Brahma. He that has come therein . . . in his last hours passes to extinction (Nirvana) in Brahma.⁵

2. The holy man who follows the rule speedily comes to Brahma.

3. If he have even the wish to know the rule, he passes beyond the word-Brahma.⁶

4. One goes to the heavenly Supreme Male.⁷

5. The man of the Rule . . . has easy enjoyment of boundless happiness in touch with Brahma.⁸

6. To the peaceful-minded man one with Brahma comes exceeding joy.⁹

7. The man of the Rule . . . becomes Brahma.¹⁰

If the *Gita* be a unity, and if, as lawyers say of a last will, it is its own dictionary, then we must find ourselves in more than one inconsistency of thought. On the other hand, the theory of composite authorship or composite structure will explain the conflicting diversities of views the book contains. Thus,

¹ *Gita* xvi. 22. There is also ' the lowest way,' xvi, 20.

² vi. 31.

³ xiv. 26 ; xviii. 53.

⁴ ii. 72 ; v. 24. 26. *Abiding*, v. 19. On *Nirvana* (as used in Buddhism) see below, ch. xi. § 7.

⁵ v. 6 ; viii. 24. ' Wins to Brahma,' xiii. 30 ; xviii. 50.

⁶ vi. 44. Telang, *S.B.E.*, vol. viii, p. 73, translates the last part, ' He rises above the [fruits of action laid down in the] divine word., Barnett's translation followed here obviates the arbitrariness of the words in brackets. See Barnett, *Gita.*, Introduction, § 62, for the meaning of word-Brahma as Logos.

⁷ viii. 8. 10.

⁸ vi. 28.

⁹ vi. 27.

¹⁰ v. 24.

'*abiding*' in Brahma is not the same as being one with Brahma, lost in extinction, whatever meaning we give the word translated 'extinction.' Again, what is the author's (authors'?) idea of *Brahma*? Is 'going to Brahma' going to the Final, the Absolute? One is by no means certain, since 'Brahma is born of the Imperishable,'¹ and 'The Imperishable is the One set on high, but there is another and highest Male called the Supreme Self. . . I am beyond the Perishable and likewise higher than the Imperishable . . . and am famed in the . . . Veda as the Male-Supreme.'² While the reader, as bewildered as Arjuna himself 'with this seemingly tangled utterance',³ is about to conclude that Brahma (of the Nirvana) is left far behind in the rear by the claims of Krishna, the mind rotates by a process of cyclic confusion to the statement that Krishna-Vasudeva is 'That Brahma'.⁴ One asks with Arjuna, 'What is "That Brahma!"'⁵ The answer is, 'Brahma is the Imperishable, the Supreme,'⁶ and the giver of the answer accepts Arjuna's homage, 'Thou art the Imperishable.'⁷ If we suppose, as we are forced to do, that different strata of thought are discernible in the *Gita*, accounted for by indiscriminate borrowings by a Vasudevian editor or author from various philosophic sources,⁸ then we shall be able to account for the existence of conflicting opinions in a book that claims to be a unity.

¹ *Gita*, iii. 15.² xv. 16-17.³ iii. 2.⁴ vii. 29.⁵ viii. 1.⁶ viii. 3. Contrast this with iii. 15 and xv. 16. 17.

xi. 37.

⁸ See Barnett, *Gita*, Introduction, §§ 65-71.

4. The goal of the 'saved' is spoken of as a place.

1. The man of the Rule . . . passes beyond the present universe and reaches the supreme primal sphere.¹

2. That supreme abode of mine where once come men return not.²

3. One attains by My grace to the everlasting changeless region.³

4. The supreme peace, the everlasting realm.⁴

5. Win to the happy worlds of the workers of holiness.⁵

Thus is described the final 'place' of him who, matured on earth, 'passes beyond death,'⁶ and enjoys immortality,⁷ having won his consummation.⁸

5. Salvation is 'taking refuge,' a process or realization possible in this life.

1. At the end of many births the man of knowledge finds refuge in Me, knowing Vasudeva to be all.⁹

2. In Him seek refuge with thy whole soul.¹⁰

3. Come for refuge to Me alone and I will deliver you from all sin.¹¹

4. I am thy disciple, teach me who am come to thee for refuge.¹²

The idea of 'taking refuge' is preserved to this day in the formula employed at the ordination of Buddhist monks in Ceylon, *Buddham saranam gachamé, dhammam saranam gachamé, sangam saranam gachamé*, 'I take refuge in the Buddha, I take refuge in the Law, I take refuge in the Church.'¹³

¹ *Gita*, viii. 28. ² xv. 6. See xv. 4. ³ xviii. 56. ⁴ xviii. 62.

⁵ xviii. 71. ⁶ xiii. 25. ⁷ xiv. 20 ; ii. 15. ⁸ xviii. 45.

⁹ vii. 19. ¹⁰ xviii. 62. ¹¹ xviii. 66. ¹² ii. 7.

¹³ Compare Ignatius *ad Philad.* v. 1. 'Making the Gospel my refuge as the flesh of Jesus, and the Apostles as the presbytery of the Church.' The original of 'making my refuge' is *προσφυγών* literally 'fleeing to.'

In the groupings of passages so far given we notice the tendency of the *Gita* to focus attention on Krishna-Vasudeva in the attaining of salvation. The old modes of thought and philosophical views are appropriated and the hand of the Krishnaite author or editor is seen in the working up of the thoughts towards Krishna. Salvation expressed Brahmaically or otherwise centres round Krishna.

6. Let us now group together a few passages where the Krishna-idea is pointedly paramount. Krishna is the grantor of saving grace and salvation.

1. He . . . comes not again to birth . . . comes to Me.¹

2. Instinct with Me, making their home in Me, have come into My being.²

3. The strict-minded man of the Rule comes to the peace that ends in 'extinction' and that abides in Me.³

4. The man of the Rule . . . abides in Me where-soever he may abide.⁴

5. If thou labourest upon the Rule with mind clinging to Me and with Me for thy dwelling-place thou shalt surely know Me in all My fulness.⁵

6. In the hour of going hence know Me.⁶

7. After coming to Me the great-hearted that have reached supreme adeptship light never again upon birth.⁷

8. They that offer to Me go to Me.⁸

9. To the men everlastingly under the Rule I bring power to win and to maintain.⁹

10. Thou shalt be delivered and come unto Me.¹⁰

11. Who goes hence remembering Me goes assuredly into My being.¹¹

12. . . . The worshipper of Me attains to My being.¹²

13. . . . They become one in quality with Me.¹³

¹ *Gita*, iv. 9. ² iv. 10. ³ vi. 15. ⁴ vi. 31. ⁵ vii. 1.

⁶ vii. 30. ⁷ viii. 15. ⁸ ix. 25. ⁹ ix. 22.

¹⁰ ix. 28. See ix. 34; x. 10; xi. 55; xvii. 65.

¹¹ viii. 5.

¹² xiii. 18.

¹³ xiv. 2.

14. He enters into my existence.¹

15. He speedily enters into Me.²

16. They that worship Me with devotion dwell in Me and I in them.³

17. Making his home in Me one attains by My grace to the everlasting changeless region.⁴

Salvation thus is inseparable from Krishna-Vasudeva. It is a present realization. The 'saved' is homed in God, enters into the existence of the Divine and is endowed with power to maintain his position of final security. A comparison of the various passages grouped in this section will show that the specifically Krishnaite ideas stand out in bold relief against the Brahmaic and other background. *Salvation is made to centre round a Person.*

§ 8. How is salvation obtained? In the *Gita* every form of religious endeavour known to Hinduism finds a place, emphasis being shifted with a calm disregard of consistency from one to another. The *one* principle that is common to all is the necessity for strenuous effort. To keep one in a state of salvation there should be unceasing striving. In this insistence upon striving the *Gita* links itself to Brahmanism and Buddhism.⁵ Indifference to pain and pleasure fits a man for immortality.⁶ Indifference is called the Rule.⁷ It is the Rule of the Understanding which saves.⁸ The sense-instruments are a hindrance, therefore saving wisdom lies in the restraint of the sense-instruments.⁹ The

¹ *Gita*, xiv. 19.

² xviii. 55.

³ ix. 29.

⁴ xviii. 56. For 'home in Me,' see iv. 10; vii. 1.

⁵ See below, ch. xi, § 18 *ad fin.*

⁶ *Gita*, ii. 15.

⁷ ii. 48.

⁸ ii. 51.

⁹ ii. 67; iii. 41; vi 4.

Samkhya principles and the Yoga are both good, but even a little of the Yoga saves from re-births.¹ The Samkhya Knowledge-Rule and the Yoga Work-Rule are both declared to be of Divine origin.² Since, however, worklessness is impossible, it is necessary that all should work, and work begets fruit. Therefore the saving truth is—‘work without attachment.’³ Of all works done thus without attachment the best is sacrifice.⁴ Yet there is more bliss in sacrifice of knowledge than in sacrifice of substance.⁵ The exaltation of knowledge as a means of salvation covers much space in the Fourth Lesson. The saving efficacy of knowledge is great.

Even though thou shouldst be of all sinners the greatest evil-doer, thou shalt by the Boat of Knowledge be carried over all evil.⁶

The saved, cleansed of defilement by knowledge, return never again.⁷ In some parts of the *Gita* stress is laid on the efficacy of Yoga practices and directions are given how, by certain physical efforts, the man of the Rule should labour till he reaches the Peace that ends in *Nirvana*.⁸

The man of the Rule who ‘labours stoutly’ is greater than the man of Knowledge.⁹ The man of the Rule is not unobservant of institutional religion, of the Scriptures, of offerings, of mortifications, of almsgiving.¹⁰ To men everlastingly under the Rule power is given for sustained and final salvation.¹¹ Towards the latter half of the *Gita* attention becomes distracted from all prior-named

¹ *Gita*, ii. 40. ² iii. 3. ³ iii. 19. ⁴ iii. 9. ⁵ iv. 33.

⁶ iv. 36. See iv. 36-42.

⁷ v. 17.

⁸ vi. 10-15.

⁹ vi. 46. Contrast vii. 17 ; xii. 12.

¹⁰ viii. 28.

¹¹ ix. 22.

activities of religion and fixed on the person of Krishna-Vasudeva. '*Devotion to Me*'—that is Krishna's uttermost principle of liberation from the bonds of births.

Whatever be thy work, thine eating, thy sacrifice, thy gift, thy mortification, make thou of it an offering to Me . . . Thou shalt be delivered and come unto Me . . . None who is devoted to Me is lost.¹

In the last lesson of the book it is told how, by certain disciplinary acts, a man becomes fit for Brahmahood.² It is the man who reaches that stage who is capable (so the closing lesson seems to suggest) of saving devotion towards Krishna-Vasudeva. After all is said, the *Gita* points to the final saving factor, grace.

Doing always all works, making his home in Me, one attains by My grace to the everlasting changeless realm. . . The Lord dwells in the hearts of all born beings. In Him seek refuge with thy whole soul ; by His grace thou shalt win supreme peace, the everlasting realm.³

It is refreshing, at the close of a book where every expedient the mind of man had devised and for which the sanction of God is claimed, for the saving of souls, is set up, justified, praised, belittled, commended, condemned, exalted and lowered, to light upon the beautiful sayings on grace. It is well to have wandered in the wilderness to sit at last by the cool waters of the grace that gladdens. Arjuna's last utterance is gratitude to this Grace.⁴ Although we may not forget that the secret of saving Grace the *Gita* promises is set in an environment of legalism, conformity to rule, mortification, and ritual

¹ *Gita*, ix, 27, 28-31.

³ xviii. 56-61, 62.

² xviii. 50-3.

⁴ xviii. 73.

obedience to institutional religion,¹ yet we should be doing little justice to the illumination vouchsafed to the men of the age of the *Gita* were we not to see in their strivings, in this great book of incessant strenuousness,² foregleams of the full light to which alone we owe the revelation of Grace and Truth.³

§9. The background of the *Gita* is Upanishadic. It often takes over from the principal Upanishads thoughts and expressions, just as indeed one Upanishad does from another, and sometimes models itself upon an Upanishadic utterance. A tabular statement of some similarities is here given:—

| | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>Chandog.</i> | iii. 12. 1 | The Gayatri is excellent. | <i>Gita</i> , x. 35 |
| " | iv. 15. 5 | The two paths | " viii. 23. |
| " | v. 10. 1. 2 | " | " viii. 23. |
| <i>Brihad.</i> | vi. 2. 15. 16 | " | " viii. 23. |
| <i>Katha.</i> | i. 2. 18. 19 | Nor slayer nor slain | " ii. 19. |
| " | i. 2. 15. 16 | The Imperishable One | " iii. 11. 12. |
| | | | 13. |
| " | i. 3. 10 | Beyond senses . . . This | " iii. 42. |
| " | i. 3. 9 | Vishnu's highest place | " viii. 21. |
| " | i. 3. 11 | The Avayakta | " ii. 25 ; vii. 24 ; viii. 18 ; ix. 4 ; xiii. 5. |
| " | i. 1. 16. 17 | Merit of hearing the Doctrine. | " xviii. 70. 71. |
| " | ii. 3. 1 | Ancient tree | " xv. 1. |
| <i>Mund.</i> | iii. 1. 3 | Brahmayoni | " xiv. 3. |
| <i>Katha.</i> | i. 5. 11 | Sun shines undefiled | " xiii. 32. 33. |
| <i>Mund.</i> | ii. 2. 5 | String of gems | " vii. 7. |
| <i>Brihad.</i> | iii. 8. 3 | " | " vii. 7. |
| " | iv. 4. 23 | Seeing self in self | " vi. 20. 29. |
| <i>Katha.</i> | i. 6. 14 | When all loves cease | " i. 70-2. |
| <i>Brihad.</i> | iv. 4. 7 | " | " i. 70-2. |

The *Svetasvatara Upanishad* is the Upanishad of Saivism. The *Gita* appears to have derived from

¹ *Gita*, xviii. 67. ² iii. 33, vi. 23, 28. 45, xii. 9, . . . ³ St. John i. 17.

it considerable inspiration. It is the *Svetasvatara* which declares, '*The perishable is Pradhana, the Imperishable is Siva.*'¹ The Krishnaite *Gita* extols Krishna, '*Thou art the Imperishable . . . Lord of Gods . . . first of Gods.*'² The *Gita* seeks to supersede the claims of the *Svetasvatara*. It is Krishna who is God and not Siva. The *Svetasvatara* states, '*The Bhagavat dwells in the core of the heart of all beings . . . He is the omnipresent Siva.*'³ The Krishnaite claim makes no secret of its sectarian character, '*I am seated in the heart of all . . . The Lord dwells in the heart of all born beings . . . In Him seek refuge . . . Come for refuge to Me alone.*'⁴ The *Svetasvatara* had said, '*He has been born and He will be born.*'⁵ The *Gita* finds fulfilment and realization of that in Krishna: '*Never have I not been . . . Though birthless and unchanging of essence and though lord of born beings, yet . . . I come into birth.*'⁶ Of the Adorable⁷ the *Svetasvatara* had said, '*He is in the fire, in the water, in the plants, in trees, has entered into the world.*'⁸ The *Gita* appropriates those and other attributes and powers for Krishna⁹ and Krishna is placed on a pinnacle of supreme transcendence adorned with an extravagance of gorgeous detail.¹⁰ Siva becomes a mere accessory in the adornment.¹¹

¹ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, i. 10.

² *Gita*, xi. 37. 38.

³ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, iii. 11.

⁴ *Gita*, xv. 15, xviii. 61, 62-6.

⁵ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, ii. 16.

⁶ *Gita*, ii. 12; iv. 6.

⁷ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, v. 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ii. 17.

⁹ *Gita*, vii. 8. 9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, x. 19-42.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, x. 23. See above § 5.

In the 'boat of knowledge'¹ which the *Gita* promises shall carry even the 'greatest sinner . . . over all evil'² we see the *Svetasvatara* 'boat of Brahma' in which the wise are able to 'cross all the torrents that cause fear.'³ The beautiful idea of being 'homed'⁴ in God is Upanishadic, and last found before the *Gita* in the *Svetasvatara*.⁵ The body as the city of eleven gates is described in *Kathopanishad*,⁶ but it is the *Svetasvatara*⁷ that suggests to the *Gita* the idea of 'the nine-gated city.'⁸ In the *Svetasvatara* the Snarer who rules alone by his powers is Rudra, one without a second,⁹ and in the *Gita* the honour is given to Krishna.¹⁰ Yogic directions in the *Gita*¹¹ find anticipations in the *Svetasvatara*.¹² The supreme abode of the blest with Krishna which 'the sun illumines not, nor the moon, nor fire'¹³ is described more fully in the *Svetasvatara*¹⁴ which resembles closely the description in two of its predecessors.¹⁵ The statement regarding 'The Thing to be known' in the *Gita*¹⁶ reflects the *Svetasvatara*¹⁷ thought, and a verse and a half are quoted from it.¹⁸ In the *Svetasvatara* Siva is the 'creator and supporter of the gods . . . the sovereign of the gods. . . that god :'¹⁹

¹ *Gita*, iv. 36.² *Ibid.* iv. 36.³ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, ii. 8.⁴ *Gita*, iv. 10.⁵ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, ii. 7.⁶ *Kathopanishad*, v. 1.⁷ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, iii. 18.⁸ *Gita*, v. 13.⁹ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, iii. 1. 2.¹⁰ *Gita*, xviii. 61.¹¹ *Ibid.*, v. 27; vi. 10-14. See Bhandarkar *V.S.* 16.¹² *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, ii. 8-10.¹³ *Gita*, xv. 6.¹⁴ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, vi. 14.¹⁵ *Kathopanishad*, v. 15. *Mundogya Upanishad*, ii. 2. 10.¹⁶ *Gita*, xiii. 12, 13, 14.¹⁷ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, iii. 10.¹⁸ *Ibid.*, iii. 16. 17.¹⁹ *Ibid.*, iv. 12, 13.

the *Gita* appropriates the supremacy for Krishna-Vishnu.¹ The *Gita* concludes with a declaration that in its verses are contained a supreme secret, a great mystery, not to be told to the unworthy²—words which recall and echo the concluding portions of the *Svetasvatara*.³ We must pass on to a notice of weightier obligations of the Vaishnavite *Gita* to the Saivite *Svetasvatara*.

§ 10. Early Upanishadic endeavours to personalize Deity did not generally venture beyond the theological fiction of 'a conditioned Brahma'.⁴ The personalizing of God in the *Gita* is one of the surprises of Hinduism. It was a defiant departure from the philosophic conventions of earlier thought. Was there at any time any preparedness for this intense 'personal' note? In the last chapter⁵ we hinted at some elements favourable for a personal conception of God. It is to the *Svetasvatara* Upanishad we must turn to find a clearer suggestion of the personal idea. It is the Upanishad of the Personality of God.⁶ Siva, the Lord in the Upanishad, is identical with the Supreme One, the Brahma of prior philosophy:

Beyond this is the High Brahman, the Vast. Those who know Isa, the Lord, hidden in all things and embracing all things, to be this (Brahman) become immortal.⁷

The Impersonal Abstraction of early post-*Rik* speculation is given a name in the *Svetasvatara*.

¹ *Gita*, xi. 13, 25.

² *Ibid.*, xviii. 68, 67.

³ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, vi, 22, 23.

⁴ See above, ch. viii, § 9.

⁵ Ch. viii, § 12.

⁶ See Max Müller, *S.B.E.*, vol. xv., p. 36.

⁷ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, iii 7. Translation given in a note in *S.B.E.*, vol. xv, p. 245.

God is the One, the Sole, *Rudra*,¹ a name by which the Upanishad bridges over the chasm of chaotic speculations and links itself to the realism of the *Rig Veda*. Rudra is the Bhagavat, and is Siva.² As the dim shadow of a dark mist the dualistic confusion of pre-*Svetasvatara* thought is seen, from the vantage ground of this Upanishad, in the far distance. God is enunciated in terms of personality. If the *Gita* is under obligation to any earlier writing for its conception of a personal God that writing is the *Svetasvatara Upanishad* where we catch, in a passage here and a passage there, echoes of the age of the *Rig Veda*:

O Rudra, let Thy gracious³ face protect me forever.

O Rudra hurt us not in our offspring and descendants, hurt us not in our own lives, nor in our cows, nor in our horses. Do not slay our men in Thy wrath, for holding oblation we call on Thee always.⁴

In the *Gita* we see unmistakeable marks of a studied effort to 'invest the unchangeable and indiscrete Brahman with a strong distinct personality.'⁵ God is personalized in terms of human kinship.⁶ The laborious, toilsome worship of the Abstract, Unshown, Impersonal, is contrasted with the worship of Krishna as a personal manifestation of the Divine.⁷ The author of the *Gita* concedes

¹ *Svet.* iii. 2.

² *Ibid* iii. 11.

³ '*Dakshina*,' the word rendered 'gracious' means also 'turned towards the south'. On Siva as Dakshina Murti see *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, pp. 20.166.

⁴ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, iv. 21. 22. See above, pp. 111-115. *Rig Veda*, i.114.

⁵ Bhandarkar, *V.S.*, 19. *Gita*, viii. 3. 13. 14. 15.

⁶ *Gita*, ix. 17. Bhandarkar, *V.S.* 20.

⁷ *Gita*, xii. 2-7.

as much as he could to early traditions and beliefs in his successful endeavours towards the personalization of Deity.¹ The *Gita* conception of God, theistic, monotheistic and personal, while parallel in many respects to that in the *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, is considerably in advance of it in the idea of the *avatars*, the human manifestations, of God. In the epic to which the *Gita* belongs, Krishna is but a great warrior, a mighty hero, even a demi-god. Whence does the *Gita* derive the teaching of the 'incarnation' of God in man? It is *not* from the *Svetasvatara*. In the whole range of Vedic, or Sutra, literature, there is not a single reference to Krishna as the incarnation of God.² This only heightens our wonder at the genius of the makers of the *Gita* for the enunciation of the idea of the man-becomingness of God. To suggest that Jewish writings or Alexandrian Greek works, or Saivite treatises, may have contributed to the culture of the writers of the *Gita* is to betray prepossessions Jewish and Christian, Hellenistic or Siddhantic. At the same time, in view of the *Svetasvatara*³ sources of the *Gita* we may not pass over the last verse of that Upanishad where reference is made to the high-minded man's 'devotion for God, and for his Guru as for God.' Devotion for the *Guru* is to be as for *God*. It is a commonplace of the Saiva Siddhanta⁴ that God comes down to man in human form as man's *Guru*, and is the Great Teacher. The *Gita* speaks of Krishna (God) as the Teacher,

¹ See Bhandarkar, *V.S.*, pp. 19-21.

² Farquhar, *Gita and Gospel*, 20.

³ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, vi. 23.

⁴ See above, p. 133.

Guru.¹ Had the *Gita* the God-Guru idea from Saiva literature or did it complete the God-Guru equation which the Upanishad had all but framed?

§ 11. 'Through the grace of God,' *Devaprasadat*,² says the *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, the author has truly proclaimed Brahman. This idea of *prasada*, the Deity's response to the soul's devotion,³ is prominent in the *Gita*. The germs of it are in the *Svetasvatara*: it is developed in the *Gita*.⁴ Allied to *prasada*, 'grace,' is *bhakti*, 'devotion, love'. It is inferentially present in the early Upanishads.⁵ 'The word *bhakti*, however, in the sense of "love" is not to be found except in a verse in the *Svetasvatara Upanishad*.'⁶ The 'meditation' of the old Upanishads was something less than the 'devotion' of the *Svetasvatara*. The *Gita* takes the thought of 'devotion' and weaves it into a garland of adoration for the Personal, 'Incarnate' God of that book. Devotion to Krishna saves at all times.⁷ The worshipper is dear to God, is God's own beloved.⁸ Arjuna, love-led, therefore says:

With obeisance and prostration of body I crave of Thee, the adorable Lord as father with son, as comrade

¹ *Gita*, ii. 7; xi. 42. Robertson (*Pagan Christs*, part ii, ch. ii, § 1) may be held to have established, by the instances he cites, the thesis that a general conception of the god as teacher belongs to early religion, but nowhere in the chapter does he deal with the subject of the god becoming man, to be, among other objects, man's Teacher.

² *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, vi. 21.

³ See Macnicol, *Indian Theism* p. 206, quoting Hopkins, *J.R.A.S.* July, 1911, p. 72.

⁴ *Gita*, xviii. 56. 58. 62. 73.

⁵ Bhandarkar, *V.S.*, p. 28.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29. *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, vi. 23.

⁷ *Gita*, xviii. 54. 55. 65. 68.

⁸ *Ibid.*, xvii. 65. 64

with comrade, as lover with mistress, mayst Thou bear with me, O God.¹

Devotion, in the *Gita*, passes into the passionate love of lover and mistress—the erotic ideal of Mysticism, Hindu and Christian.

§ 12. The *Gita* is a great book if only for the immense influence it sways over the hearts of India's millions. Sectarian though it is in character its acceptance is catholic. The Jainas² love the *Gita*, though it is not one of their scriptures. It is the book of Vaishnavite devotion, for Vishnu is Krishna. The Saivites, to outshine whose God 'whose name is Great Glory,'³ the *Gita*, with its transcendent conception of Krishna, must have been used very early in the conflict between Saivism and Vaishnavism, if not actually composed for that purpose, find in its slokas wealth of devotional material and abundance of philosophy. The Theosophists trace in the *Gita* their *Logos* teaching⁴ as indeed they do in the *Svetasvatara Upanishad*.⁵ The *Gita* is a great book apart from the catholicity of its use within the pale of Hinduism. It holds aloft the torch of truth to lighten the darkness for wayfarers on their long journey in quest of God. The light is dim, fitful and very flickering, but light it is all the same. It was lit at a time of much gloom, the gloom of atheism, agnosticism, nescience, and negation. By its light men were led to see, in faint outline indeed, the vision of a Personal God, the giver of Grace and the recipient of Love, till,

¹ *Gita*, xi. 44. ² See Sinclair's *Heart of Jainism*, p. 112, note.

³ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, iv. 19.

⁴ Subba Row's *Lectures on the Bhagavad Gita*, *passim*.

⁵ Mead's edition of the *Upanishads*, vol. ii. 60.

journeying onward, they could behold the brilliance of the Light of the whole world.¹ The men of the age of the *Gita* had seen at its rising the star that was to lead all to God truly made flesh.² In the conception of Krishna as God-man we have a foreshadowing of no transient manifestation of the Divine, of an *avatar* among *avatars*, but of the full man-becomingness of God, the fulness of Divinity taking on the fulness of Humanity. The Krishna *avatar* of the *Gita* is a beautiful foregleam of the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ.

There are many suggestive thoughts in the *Gita* affording material for parallels with Gospel utterances,³ but a merely verbal parallelism is a perilous foundation upon which to build valid conclusions. It is well to remember, in any study of alleged parallels, the background of each set of sayings. The claims of Krishna, it must never be forgotten, are inseparable from the pantheistic associations of the *Gita*. Its very theism 'looms forth from a mist of pantheism.'⁴ Jesus Christ does not identify Himself with anything, or anybody, except God, 'I and the Father are One.'⁵ Krishna, on the other hand, is fire and oblation, wind and tree, snake and *Sama Veda*, priest and petition, horse and thunderbolt.⁶ When Krishna says, 'I am the Way'⁷, he says also 'I am dissolution . . . I am Death.'⁸ Christ's statement, 'I am the Way'⁹ is part of the larger claim, 'I am the Life.'¹⁰ The

¹ St. John ix. 5, viii. 12, xii. 46. ² St. John., i. 14, 1 John iv. 2.

³ See a few parallels in *Gita and Gospel*, p. 56.57

⁴ Macnicol, *Indian Theism*, p. 79.

⁵ St. John x. 30.

⁶ *Gita*. x. 20-41, ix. 16.

⁷ *Ibid.* vii. 18. ⁸ *Ibid* x. 34, ix. 18.

⁹ St. John xiv. 6.

¹⁰ St. John xi. 25, i. 4, 1 John i. 1.

Krishna sayings, again, even the best and most beautiful of them, however much they are worthy of our admiration, are *never* to be dissociated from their context of transmigration and karma. Among, however, the numerous great thoughts of the *Gita* we may take two with which to conclude this brief study of a very remarkable book. The first is the conception of the God-Man as Guru, Teacher. The man-becomingness of God to be the Teacher of men is an arresting dogma of the Saiva Siddhanta. The *Gita* and the Siddhanta ideas are foregleams of the fulness of the revelation of the Divine Guru with Whom are the Words of Eternal Life.¹ Another great ideal, the evolution of which is traceable from the age of the *Rig Veda*,² is that which is suggested in Krishna's name, 'Lord of the Herds'.³ It is the Vedic *Pasunampati*⁴ and the Siddhanta *Pasupati*, 'Lord of the Herd of Souls'.⁵ It is a title (the *Gita* 'Lord of the Herds' in its spiritual setting and apart from any association with a Krishna, the cowherd)⁶ rich in the contents of such tenderness of the relationship of God to the human soul as finds its final and full expression in Him who is the Shepherd and Overseer of our souls,⁷ the good Shepherd Who has laid down His life for His sheep.⁸

¹ St. John vi. 68.

² See above, p. 66, Note (3).

³ *Gita*, i. 32.

⁴ See above, p. 66.

⁵ On this title as applied to Siva, see *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, pp. 10.162.

⁶ See Bhandarkar, *V.S.*, p. 38.

⁷ 1 Peter ii. 25.

⁸ St. John x. 14.

CHAPTER X

GAZING INTO THE GLOOM

§1. An impenetrable gloom hangs over every grave. From the very earliest times man has been endeavouring to pierce it and see the things that belong to the beyond. The formulated results of such endeavour are the eschatology of organized religion. In one shape or another the problem had presented itself to man in every age, 'If a man die shall he live again?' The savage, man in the world's childhood¹, answered it by locating the souls of his dead in the bodies of the beasts living around him. The principle underlying this belief is the thought of the continuity of life. Whether as man or as beast the same being *continues to live*. The savage carried the matter no further. It has been suggested² that thinkers of more cultured times elaborated this savage belief into the theory of the transmigration of souls. This is a supposition framed to link philosophy to primitive thought. There may be no connection whatever between the savage belief and the teaching of Pythagoras, of Empedocles and Plato, unless it is proved, which

¹ For a collection of instances of this widespread savage belief, see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, part v, vol. ii, pp. 285-98; Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of Malaya*, vol. ii, p. 290.

² H. Stuart in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (eleventh edition), vol. xviii, p. 259. Frazer, *Op. cit.*, pp. 298, 301, 308.

it is not, that *in Greece* such a savage belief was current in the age of Pythagoras at least. As Dean Inge protests :

I shall not follow the fashion and discuss the survivals of totemism in civilized religions. Researches into the psychology of the savage are interesting to the anthropologist, and would have some importance to the student of comparative religion, if we could have any confidence that European travellers can ever really understand the mentality of primitive races. But the Platonist and the Aristotelian can have no sympathy with attempts to poise a pyramid on its apex. For us the nature of religion is what it may grow into; and our starting-point, if we turn to history, must be the conceptions of early civilized races.¹

One of the most remarkable gaps in the history of the continuity sought to be sustained by some writers in eschatological ideas between the savage and the sage is the total absence ² of any transmigrational thought in the religion of the *Rig Veda*. Man in the age of the *Rig Veda* was not a savage, nor was he, as compared with man in Brahmanic times, a philosopher. Yet, Rig Vedic religion affords no trace of the savage belief, or the elaborated philosophical theory, as to the passage of souls from body to body. In the *Rig Veda* the basic principle of eschatology is a simple one—the joyousness of earth-life is continued into the life beyond.³ This very singular escape of Rig Vedic man from the taint of totemistic conceptions and from the influence of the philosophy of transmigration is not noticed by writers who find in the religion

¹ *Philosophy of Plotinus*, vol. ii, p. 29.

² See above, ch. iv., §. 17.

³ See above, ch. iv., §. 16, p. 93.

of 'primitive' man beliefs which are the nucleus (so they hold) of metempsychosis.

§2. When we consider the religion of the Hebrews as represented by their Scriptures we come across a remarkable gap—*Old Testament Judaism shows no trace of totemistic or more developed ideas of the transmigration of souls*. The explorations of modern scholarship into the books of the Old Testament for the discovery of myth and legend may be taken to be best indexed by the researches of Sir James G. Frazer as set forth in his *Folklore in the Old Testament*, in three well-filled volumes of information and inference and theory and, sometimes, fancy. In not one of these volumes does the learned author refer to any particular Biblical text which could be said to establish positively, or even *prima facie*, Old Testament belief in the transmigration of souls. It is guessed that the Nandis of British East Africa practise circumcision as a 'belief in spiritual immortality is apparently supposed to be a consequence of circumcision,' and on this *supposition* is reared the 'conjecture that the primary intention of the rite was to ensure the survival of the soul after death in order that at some later time it might be re-born in the family'.¹ The Jews of the Old Testament performed circumcision. Did they *therefore* believe what a British East African tribe is *conjectured* to believe? In a long chapter entitled *Boring a Servant's Ear*² we are given instances of a practice in Bengal, South Nigeria, and the Gold Coast, of mutilating or

¹ *F. O. T.*, ii, 330.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii, part iv, ch. iii.

maltreating a dead or living child under certain circumstances, and the mentality of the savage mind is laid bare by the *conjecture* that at the back of the practice lurks the idea of re-incarnation.¹ The relevancy of the chapter on *Boring the Ear* with over two hundred pages of savage practices to the Old Testament is perhaps to suggest that Biblical ear-boring² is evidence of Jewish belief in the transmigration of souls! In the course of an extensive study of ultimogeniture, in the chapter entitled *The Heirship of Jacob*, it is laid down that 'the practice of killing the first-born of a family seems to have been widespread, and there are some grounds for thinking that it is based on a theory of transmigration.'³ If it be intended to establish a belief in transmigration by the facts relating to the heirship of Jacob, it must be confessed that the intention has not matured into anything tangible in the sphere of the relevant. A fascinating chapter, headed *Elijah and the Ravens*, concludes, after a series of endeavours to connect the inconnectibles, or rather anything to everything else, with this observation—

The practice of exposing the dead, combined with the belief in the transmigration of human souls into animal bodies, may suffice to establish an imaginary kinship between men and beasts and birds of prey, such as hyenas, eagles, vultures, and ravens.⁴

It should not for a moment be supposed that Frazer expressly formulates the thesis that to find

¹ *F. O. T.*, iii, 242. 245.

² Exodus xx. 22—xxiii. 33; Deut. xv. 12-17.

³ *F. O. T.*, i. 480.

⁴ *Ibid* iii, 29. Against the existence of traces in the Old Testament Religion of Israel of Totemism and ancestor-worship,

in the Old Testament circumcision, or ear-boring, or ultimogeniture, or ravens is to find transmigration of souls, but he does worse than that—he throws out innuendoes, he suggests, he misleads. That the Old Testament did not have some theory of transmigration is indeed very marvellous, especially as Semitic contact with Egypt began as early as 2256 B.C. and was at its closest in the period of the oppression about 1580 B.C.¹ Association with Egypt on the part of the Israelites continued from pre-Mosaic to post-Exilic times. Now, in Egypt belief in some form of the doctrine of transmigration was known prior to the *Book of the Dead*. It is considered that the book bears testimony to 'the relics of a doctrine of metempsychosis or transmigration of souls, which has none of the strictness or sharpness of similar doctrines in other religions.'² The oldest portions of the *Book of the Dead* are supposed to belong to the Fifth Age of Egypt or the Middle Kingdom, about 3500-3200 B.C. Our surprise as to the silence of the Old Testament about transmigration of souls is enhanced when we remember that Old Testament eschatology leaves man after death in a shadowy,

see Dr. E. Kautzsch's article in *H. D. B.* extra volume, p. 614(a). On Rabbinic ideas of Transmigration see Dr. Gaster's article in Hastings, *E. R. E.*, xii, pp. 435-440. A brief summary of Kabbalistic views is given in G. F. Moore's *Metempsychosis*, 54.

¹ Flinders Petrie, *Egypt and Israel*, 14-38.

² Naville, *The Old Egyptian Faith*, p. 182. Tirard, *Book of the Dead*, p. 162. Petrie, *Personal Religion in Egypt before Christianity*, pp. 43, 45, 47. In Wiedemann's *Religion of Egypt* in *H. D. B.*, extra volume, pp. 192-7, the Egyptian conception of a future life is discussed without particular reference to transmigration. See article by Flinders Petrie in *E. R. E.*, xii, p. 431.

colourless, vegetating existence in *sheol*, where he is cut off from man and God.¹ It is just where Old Testament eschatology stops that the affiliation of a doctrine of transmigration would have been an element of hopeful continuity of life in action.

Again, if we take the view that there are proofs in the Old Testament full enough to suggest that death does not end all ; that *sheol* is not the last state or place to which the soul goes ; that there is an immortality not of the soul but of the whole being of man ; that we must reckon with our Lord's words, ' God is not the God of the dead but of the ' *living* ' ; and that in *Job*² and in the *Psalms*³ we do not read into words Christian ideas but really find there resurrection and immortality ; then too we can understand why the Jew did not and would not take the vicissitudes of transmigration for the sure and certain hope his Scriptures disclosed. *The absence of any trace in the Old Testament of a doctrine of the transmigration of souls is very significant*, and of like import is the fact of a similar absence of the doctrine in the *Rig Veda*.

§ 3. When we pass from the sphere of the *Rig Veda* to the region of the Upanishads, we have

¹ See Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, p. lxxv ; Kautzsch, *Religion of Israel* in *H. D. B.*, extra volume, pp. 668, 728, 730 ; Charles, *Eschatology Jewish and Christian*, pp. 155.156. With special reference to *Job*, see Devine, *The Story of Job*, pp. 114, 139, 141. In an article, *Resurrection 3000-4000 B.C. and the Old Testament*, in *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July, 1902, Dr. Osgood contends for a more optimistic view of *sheol* than that advocated by most scholars. He says ' *Sheol* is the region of death from which God delivers His servants and takes them to be with Him ; but it is the permanent abode of God's enemies.' See Alger, *D.F.L.* 152.154.236.

² xix. 25-8 ; xiv. 14.

³ xvi. 9, 10, 11 ; xvii. 15 ; xlix. 15 ; lxxii. 24, 25.

formulations of a doctrine of transmigration of souls. Of this doctrine not formulated in the *Rig Veda*,¹ but indicated in the *Atharvan* and the *Satapatha Brahmana* ², the earliest full post-Rik treatment is in the Upanishads. Thus the *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, referring to an earlier tenet, which it quotes to qualify, states that transmigration which it calls 'the second death,' is obviated, not by ceremonial and material sacrifice, but by the sacrifice of knowledge :

This that people say, 'By offering with milk for a year one escapes the second death'—one should know that this is not so, since on the very day that he makes the offering he who knows escapes the second death, for he offers all his food to the gods.³

One need not wait, says the text, a whole year, but one day of the sacrifice of knowledge would be enough. The operative transmigrational principle developed in later theology is thus enunciated in the same Upanishad: 'One becomes good by good action (*karma*), bad by bad action.'⁴

It is not easy to present as a consistent whole a statement of all the various views discoverable in the Upanishads on the subject of transmigration. What one Upanishad says is not always reconcilable, without violence to the context, with a pronouncement of another. An attempt is here made, however,

¹ See above, ch. iv, § 17. Keith in *Cambridge History of India*, i. p. 108. Dasgupta in his recent *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. i, p. 26, 53, finds foreshadowings of the doctrine in the *Rig Veda*.

² *Atharva Veda*, 12.2.53, 13.2.2 *Satapatha Brahmana* 1.9.3, 11.6.11.

³ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 1.5.2. In 3.2.1C, 3.4.2, 'second' death is indicated. The ancient religions of Egypt and Babylonian mention a 'second death,' so does post-Biblical Judaism, and so too the New Testament. The New Testament shows only a verbal resemblance. See below, p. 266, note (1).

⁴ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad* 3.2.13, 4.4.5.

to give the principal heads of the doctrine according to the Upanishads with as much consistency as possible. The one principle underlying the teaching of all the Upanishads is that *after death man lives*. How does he live? Does he live indefinitely? What regulates his life after death? Answers to these questions constitute in the main the theory of the transmigration of souls.

1. After death a man¹ may either be re-born into material existence, or he may not be.

2. He is *not born again* who belongs to the class of householders who have a right knowledge of human origin and destiny², or to the class of those who 'in the forest truly worship Faith'³, that is, 'worship in a forest with the thought that Faith is austerity',⁴ or, in other words 'those who seek the *Atman* [God, the All-Soul] by austerity, chastity, faith, and knowledge.'⁵

(i) This is the Northern Route⁶ of souls, the path to the sun,⁷ the way to the gods.⁸ It is 'the way of light' of the *Gita*.⁹

¹ An inquirer in *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 3.2.13, speaks of a man's soul (*atman*) going into space and asks, 'What then becomes of this person (*purusha*)?' Contrast this with *Chandogya Upanishad* 6.10. 1-3, 6.11.1-3. See Dorothy, Stephens, *Early Indian Thought*, pp. 100, 101. The 'elemental self' undergoes transmigration (*Maitriya Upanishad*, 3.2).

² *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6.2.9-14 speaks of heaven, earth, a rain-cloud, man, woman, as 'sacrificial' fires, and the moon, rain, food, semen, and man (cremated) as oblations. This is the doctrine of the five fires. From the oblation at cremation 'the man arises having the colour of light' and then transmigrates.

³ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6.2.15. *Mundaka Upanishad* 1.2.11.

⁴ *Chandogya Upanishad*, 5.10.1.

⁵ *Prasna Upanishad*, 1.10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.10. *Maitriya Upanishad*, 6.13.

⁷ *Prasna*, 1.10. *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6.2.15.

⁸ *Chandogya Upanishad*, 5.10.2. *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6.2.2. *Kaushitaki Upanishad*, 1.3. *Chandogya Upanishad*, 4.15.6.

⁹ viii. 26. 'The two everlasting ways, light and dark, of the

(ii) It is also taught that 'all who depart from the world go to the moon . . . the door of the heavenly world . . . whoever answers it, him it lets go further.'¹ The soul, challenged and tested at the moon, gets on to the Northern Route.

(iii) The Northern Route leads souls to 'the Brahma worlds, where they dwell for long extents.'² It is the road to Brahma.³ The soul is led *into* Brahma.⁴

3. There is *re-birth into material existence* for those persons whose acts of religion are unaccompanied by the highest possible degree of spirituality. They 'worship thinking, "sacrifice and merit are our work".'⁵ who 'in the village reverence a belief in sacrifice, merit and almsgiving,' even⁶ though 'by sacrificial offering, almsgiving and austerity they conquer the worlds.'⁷

(i) This way is the Southern Route,⁸ the 'path to the fathers,'⁹ the Gita's 'dark way'.¹⁰

world; by the one a man comes back never again, by the other he returns. It is 'the narrow path'. (*Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 4.4.8).

¹ *Kaushitakai Upanishad*, 1.2. On doubts as to whether the souls journeying to the gods go to the sun or to the moon one may consult *Maitreya Upanishad*, 6.38: 'In the midst of the sun stands the moon.'

² *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6.2.15.

³ *Chandogya Upanishad*, 5.10.2.

⁴ *Mundaka Upanishad*, 3.2.6, 3.2.9. *Maitreya Upanishad*, 4.4. The itinerary of the privileged soul is described in detail in *Kaushtikakai Upanishad*, 1.3-7.

⁵ *Prasnopanisad* 1.9. Those who rely only on 'sacrificial and pious acts,' *ishtam* and *purtam* (Sankarachariar's note, Natesan's *Upanishads*, vol. ii, p. 119), those 'whose practice consists of naught but sacrifice and public charity,' (Mead, *Upanishads*, vol. i, p. 88). Max Müller (*S.B.E.*, vol. i, p. 80) has 'sacrifices, works of public utility and alms'.

⁶ *Chandogya Upanishad* 5.10.3. The 'merit' is, as explained by Sankarachariar's note, (Natesan's *Upanishads*, vol. iv, p. 49), the doing of works of public utility, such as the making of wells, tanks, gardens and the like.

⁷ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6.2.16. 'Worlds' are 'future states' (Max Müller, *S.B.E.*, vol. xv., p. 209).

⁸ *Prasnopanisad*, 1.9.

⁹ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6.2.2.

¹⁰ viii. 26.

(ii) The goal of this path is the moon, which is reached after a sojourn in the world of the fathers. In the moon the souls become the food of the gods.¹

(iii) When the moon is reached and the souls fail to answer the challenge at the moon,² or they have exhausted the merit of their good works³, they, after some experiences, become *rain* and fall on the earth as *rain*.⁴

(iv) On reaching the earth as rain they enter into *vegetable existence*, 'born as rice and barley, as herbs and trees, as sesame plants and beans,' and if, in that vegetable state, they do not become the food of men, 'they emerge not thence'⁵ they live and perish in the vegetable condition.

(v) When, in their vegetable existence, they become food, they, 'according to their deeds and knowledge,'⁶

¹ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6.2.16, *Chandogyopanishad*, 5.10.3. 'Food' means 'delight' (Max Müller, *S.B.E.*, i, 80.)

² *Kaushitaki Upanishad*, 1. 2.

³ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6.2.16. *Chandogyopanishad*, 5.10.5.

⁴ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6.2.16. *Chand.* 5. 10. 5, 6.

Kaushitaki Upanishad, 1.2. With the *Kaushitaki* testing of the soul at the moon may be compared the weighing of the soul in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, ch. 125. According to Max Müller's rendering in *S.B.E.* vol. i. p. 274, there is no testing, and if a man objects to life in the moon, the moon sets him free.

⁵ *Chandogyopanishad*, 5.10.6. The author of *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6.2. 16. does not mention vegetable existence directly. He says 'On reaching the earth they become food' and traces the steps towards human embodiment. He had not in mind the risks of vegetable existence which the *Chandogopanishad* states and which are amplified in Sankara's commentary (Natesan, *Upanishads*, vol. iv., p. 57). The author of the *Kathopanishad* (5.7), perhaps not having before him the details of knowledge available to the *Chandogopanishad* writer, says briefly that on death 'some souls go into wombs others into stationary [vegetable] things.' Manu, improving on the Upanishad tenets, if he had them before him, lays it down that the 'shrub and grass' existence of unchaste souls leads them to penal 'animal' embodiments.

⁶ *Kaushitaki Upanishad* 1.2. 'Knowledge' is not stated in *Chandogyopanishad* 5.10.7, but is, perhaps, implied in its 'conduct.' Attention will be drawn later to the important part played by 'knowledge' in transmigration.

are born,

(a) Either as human beings ¹ of such caste ² as their merits deserve, and as such human beings 'rising up into the world they cycle round again thus,'³

(b) Or as 'worm, moth, fish, bird, lion, wild boar, snake, tiger . . . or as some other in this or that condition'⁴ or 'enter the womb of a dog or swine.'⁵

4. Persons who are not fortunate enough to travel by the Northern Route and be certain of their final lot, or whose is not even the good fate to travel by the precarious Southern Route, 'those who do not know these two ways become crawling and flying insects and whatever there is that bites',⁶ are 'the small, continuously recurring creatures . . . theirs is a third state.'⁷

§4. From the point of view of human destiny all mankind is divided in the Upanishads into five classes—

1. Those who know the Highest Brahman, 'know God' are 'freed from all fetters'⁸ and reach Brahma *without having to journey by any of the paths.*⁹

¹ *Bṛihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6.2.16. *Chandogyopanishad* 5.10.7. *Kaushitaki Upanishad*, 1.2. *Kathopanishad*, 5.7.

² *Chandogyopanishad*, 5.10.7. See above, ch. vii., § 10.

³ *Bṛihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6.2.16.

⁴ *Kaushitaki Upanishad*, 1.2. As to those who are liable to be so born, see *Code of Manu*, ii. 20; xii. 9. 56-58, 62.67.

⁵ *Chandogyopanishad*, 5.10.9. In this passage 'an outcaste' (*chandala*) is grouped with 'dog and swine'. As vegetable existence above is attended with risks we may take it that animal embodiments preclude such risks.

⁶ *Bṛihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6.2.16 *ad fin.*

⁷ *Chandogya Upanishad*, 5.10.8. *Kaushitaki Upanishad*, 1.2. makes 'moth and worm' embodiments fall to the lot of certain moon-goers. This 'third state,' the lot of those who are neither sun-goers nor moon-goers, is, perhaps, what the *Gita* (xvi.20) calls the lowest way, 'the final destiny of those 'baset of men and foul' who 'wander through life in dæmonic wombs, bewildered in birth after birth' (xvi. 19. 20).

⁸ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 4.16.

⁹ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 1.7. 4.16; *Kenopanishad*, 1.2; *Aitariya Upanishad*, 4.6, 5.4; *Kenopanishad*, 2.5; *Kathopanishad*, 6.8; 5.21.1, *Mundaka Upanishad*, 3.2.9.

2. Householders who know the secret of the doctrine of the 'five fires' reach Brahma by the way to the gods.

3. Ascetics, forest-livers, who, by faith and austerity, arrive at a right knowledge of Brahma, reach Brahma by the way to the gods.

4. Householders who perform sacrifices and conform to the requirements of institutional religion, but without adequate understanding of the mystery of their devotions and duties, travel by the precarious 'path to the fathers' and *may* reach Brahma.

5. All others—theirs is 'the lowest way', 'the third state'.¹

It is noticeable that what differentiates one class from another is the presence or absence of *knowledge*, whether it be knowledge of a secret or knowledge of Brahma. The secret may be of a doctrine or of an act of devotion. Thus, in point of consequence, namely, that of going by the way of the gods, or of otherwise reaching Brahma, these three are of exactly equal importance and efficacy—knowledge of the secret of the doctrine of the five fires, knowledge of the secret of institutional religion, knowledge of God. If we examine the doctrine of the five fires (with its related doctrine of the five oblations)² and our being born in them, that is, in heaven, rain, earth, man, and woman, we shall see that the secret knowledge contained in the doctrine is of a metaphysical nature with extraordinary ethical results: 'He who knows these five fires is not defiled by sin even though he associates with them [thieves, drunk-

¹ See above § 3, *ad. fin.*

² Stated in *Chandogyopanishad*, 5, khandas 4-8 and *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6, 2.9-13.

ards, murderers and the impure].'¹ The offeror of the five oblations² 'with a full knowledge of its true purport has all his sins burnt'.³ The knower of the *Gayatri* metre is likewise privileged: 'even if he commits what seems much evil, he consumes it all, becomes pure . . . and free from decay and death.'⁴ Likewise he who understands Indra is highly privileged: 'By no deed of his is his life harmed, not by the murder of his mother, not by the murder of his father, not by theft, not by the killing of a Brahman, and if he is going to commit any sin the bloom does not depart from him.'⁵ That knowledge of this sort should be equated with knowledge of the meaning of institutional religion and the knowledge of Brahma is indeed surprising, and such knowledge is sufficient to save from transmigration even if the knower adds deed to deed by sin after sin! This is positively inconsistent with what some Upanishads teach as to the supreme saving value of the knowledge of God, knowledge manifestly superior to the knowledge, however abstruse, of a ritual or of a metre or of a doctrine of sacrifices. The Upanishad theory of transmigration

¹ *Chandogyopanishad*, 5.10.10.

² *Ibid.*, 5.19.1, 5.20.1, 5.21.1, 5.22.1, 5.23.1 (oblation to five breaths).

³ *Ibid.*, 5.24.3.

⁴ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 5.14.8.

⁵ *Kaushitaki Upanishad*, 3.1. I believe it is this statement of immunity from punishment of 'the unblushing' sinner that finds its echoes in the *Siddhanta Siva Gnana Siddhiar*, 3.10.1, 3.10. 5, 3.2.29, 3.8.3. commented on in my *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, pp 144-8. It is to the credit of the *Siddhiar* that love, and not knowledge, is the reason for the privilege.

on this matter of fitness for the path of the gods is one that cannot appeal to reason or morality.

§5. Professor Dasgupta sees in the idea of sacrifice the first rudiments of the doctrine of karma. Sacrifice, he thinks, perhaps referring to its post-Vedic developments and implications, was not so much devotion or propitiation as magic, the performing of which, according to fixed rules of ritual, had, independently of gods and other influencing agencies, certain specific effects.¹ An Upanishad enjoins, 'The sacrificial works which the poets saw in the hymns [of the Vedas]. . . practise them diligently, ye lovers of truth: this is your path that leads to the world of good deeds.'² The sacrifices should be performed in their proper seasons and times,³ and there should be no mistake made as to the exact moment of offering one's oblations 'between the two portions of melted butter.'⁴ The Agnihotra sacrifice, the first of all sacrifices, should be performed according to rule and ceremony and be followed by other sacrifices; if not, there would be destruction of all acquired merits and rewards.⁵ It is added, however, that these sacrifices are 'unsafe boats,'⁶ and those who trust themselves to them, though 'carried by the rays of the sun',⁷ return to the bondage of births 'after having had enjoyment on the top of the heaven won by good works'.⁸ That these sacrifices, performed without the least deviation

¹ *History of Indian Philosophy*, i, 21.

² *Mundaka Upanishad*, 1.2.1.

³ *Ibid.*, 1.2.5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.2.2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.2.3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.2.7.

Ibid., 1.2.7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.2.10.

from ceremonial detail, and in all faith, are of no great spiritual value is evident not only from the precarious character of the rewards earned, but further from the fact that, from another view-point in the Upanishads, true sacrifice 'is really the chaste life of a student of sacred knowledge,'¹ and the same is the meaning of 'what people call the protracted sacrifice . . . silent asceticism . . . fasting . . . and hermit-life'.² Here we have an attenuating of one of the concrete requirements of institutional religion. The endeavour belongs to the modernist trend of thought in some of the Upanishads. The elaborate ritual of sacrifice is brushed aside to make room for a very lofty and spiritualized conception of sacrifice. Is transmigration to be regulated by *material* sacrifice or *spiritual* oblation? The sacrifice of 'abstinence' is greater in efficacy than any material sacrificial act, for 'abstinence' makes the possessor inherit the Brahma-world and 'unlimited freedom'.³ The value, again, to be attached to the Agnihotra, 'first of sacrifices', is immensely diminished by the signifi-
cance of the 'inner Agnihotra'—the sacrifice of one's breath, the sacrifice of one's speech—'unending, immortal oblations one offers unceasingly whether waking or sleeping'.⁴ All other sacrifices are limited, they end in works (*karma-maya*), and 'the ancients knowing this [the inner Agnihotra] did not offer the [ordinary] Agnihotra.'⁵

¹ *Chandogyopanishad*, 8.5.1.

² *Ibid.*, 8. 5.2.3.

³ *Ibid.*, 8.5.4. ⁴ *Kaushitaki Upanishad*, 2.5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.5. *ad fin.* See *Maitreya Upanishad*, 6.34 for a similar view. See also Dasgupta, *H. I. P.*, vol. i., p. 37.

Take austerity. We have seen¹ that it, under certain conditions, takes a man by the way of the gods to birthlessness and Brahma. Austerity is indispensable even to the gods.² Right knowledge does not leave out austerity.³ It is by knowledge, austerity and meditation that Brahma is apprehended.⁴ The verses of the *Rig Veda* lead a man to the world of men, and, being endowed there with austerity, abstinence and faith, he enjoys greatness.⁵ We, however, find that the rigours of austerity are relaxed in favour of a spiritualized view of austerity. Thus, 'study and teaching are austerity,'⁶ and 'he who does not touch the object of the senses when they intrude on him . . . is an ascetic, a yogin, a performer of the self-sacrifice'.⁷ Again, 'what people call *Aranyāyana*, betaking oneself to hermit life in the forest, is really the chaste life of a student of sacred knowledge'.⁸ In the *Gita*, which takes over a great deal from the *Upanishads*, we see that the spiritualizing of the concrete reaches a high level in the matter of austerity :

Reverence to the gods, Brahmans, elders, and sages, purity, uprightness, chastity and harmlessness are mortification of the body. Speech that gives no pain, true, pleasant and wholesome, likewise practice of Scripture-reading, are mortification of speech. Clearness of the mind, pleasantness,

¹ See above, § 3.

² *Bṛihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 1,5.1. *Kathopanishad*, 4.6.

³ *Kathopanishad*, 6.18 ; *Prasna Upanishad*, 1.10, 1.15 ; *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 1.10.

⁴ *Maitreya Upanishad*, 4.4.

⁵ *Prasnopanishad*, 5.3

⁶ *Taittiriya Upanishad*, 1.9.1.

⁷ *Maitri*, 6. 10.

⁸ *Chandogyopanishad*, 8.5.3.

silence, suppression of self and cleanness of spirit are mortification of the mind.¹

The elaborate rigours of austerity are no longer to obsess the soul. *Spiritual* austerity, something harder it may be, saves. Is transmigration to be regulated according to the requirements of physical austerity or those of its spiritual substitute?

§6. Sacrifice, austerity, knowledge—the greatest of these is knowledge. ‘He who has understanding, and is mindful and ever pure, reaches the goal from which he is born no more.’² ‘As water adheres not to the lotus-leaf, so evil adheres not to him who knows [that the self is Brahma].’³ Faults cling not to the Brahma-knower.⁴ ‘He verily who knows the supreme Brahma becomes very Brahma.’⁵ ‘By knowing God one is released from all fetters,’⁶ and ‘only by knowing Him does one pass over death: there is no other path.’⁷ ‘They who know God have left the body behind.’⁸ ‘By the Self we obtain strength, by knowledge we obtain immortality.’⁹ ‘The world of the fathers is obtained by sacrifice, the world of the gods by knowledge. The world of the gods is verily the

¹ *Gita*, xvii. 14.15.16. In *Bṛihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 5.11 sickness and burial and cremation are ‘supreme austerities.’

² *Kathopanishad*, 3.8.

³ *Chandogyopanishad*, 4.14.3.

⁴ *Maitriya Upanishad*, 6.18.

⁵ *Mundaka Upanishad*, 3.2.9. Hume (*Upanishads*, p. 377) notes that Anquetil Duperron set this sentence as the summary of the contents of the *Upanishads*, *Quisquis Deum intellegit Deus fit*. On the deification of the just see my *Psalm of a Saiva Saint*, pp. 184-190.

⁶ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 1.8, 1.11, 2.15, 4.16. 6.13. In *Svetasvatara Upanishad* 4.16, *Siva*=God.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.14.

⁹ *Kenopanishad*, 2.4.

best of the worlds. Therefore they praise knowledge.' ¹ Brahma-knowers go by the ancient narrow path up to the heavenly world released. ² Knowledge may come with vision, for 'one's deeds (*Karma*) cease when He is seen.' ³

As against what is very high knowledge, knowledge of God, we find less dignified attainments assigned saving efficacy, e.g. etymology⁴ and knowledge of food.⁵ The glorification of the *Gayatri* prayer in eight verses of a whole section of the *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad* puts the knowledge of any other thing or fact completely out of count, for one who knows the *Gayatri* 'although he commits very much evil consumes it all and becomes clean and pure and ageless and immortal.'⁶ What competes with the *Gayatri* for capacity to emancipate from births is the mantra *Aum*. In the fifth section of the *Prasnopanishad* we have the whole scheme of transmigration centering round a knowledge of the phonetic components of *Om* (*Aum*). The one who meditates on only one element of *Aum*, one single sound, has a temporary sojourn in the upper regions and is speedily re-born on earth by the aid of the *Rik* verses; the one who meditates on two elements is led by the *Yajur* verses to the moon whence he is re-born; the one who meditates on the three elements of *Aum* is united with brilliance in the sun and is freed from sin! ⁷

¹ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 1.5.16.

² *Ibid.*, 4.4.8.

³ *Mundaka Upanishad*, 2.2.8.

⁴ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 2.2.4, 5.3.1, 5.5.4.

⁵ *Taitt.*, 3.7.

⁶ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 5.14.8.

⁷ *Prasnopanishad*, 5.3-5.

A very important fact to be noticed about the Upanishads is the protest, in some of them, against the extravagances into which the sufficiency of knowledge (of any sort) had been pushed. '*The Self [God] cannot be gained by the Veda, nor by understanding nor by much learning, but he whom the Self chooses by him the Self can be gained*'.¹ Another form of the protest against the all-sufficiency of knowledge is the declaration, already implied in the above excerpt, that God becomes instrumental in effecting human salvation, and stated in the very revolutionary explicitness of a doctrine of grace: '*a man who is free from desires, free from grief, beholds the majesty of the Self by the grace of the Creator*,² *that is, beholds the glory of the Lord (Isa) by the grace of the Lord*'.³ Thus grace is set over against knowledge.

If the Upanishads are indeed revelation, as they are claimed to be, then, their inconsistencies and incongruities of opinion in the matter of the doctrine of transmigration preclude the idea of unity of teaching. The doctrine itself as propounded in the Upanishads bears the impress of many speculations rather than of progressive revelation. If so, there is not such continuity of thought as entitles the

¹ *Kathopanishad*, 2.23. *Mundaka Upanishad*, 3.2.3.

² *Ibid.*, 2.20. Sankara (Natesan's *Upanishads*, vol. ii. p. 41 translates 'by the tranquillity of the senses').

³ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 3,20. On 'grace' in the *Gita* see above, ch. ix, § 8. In the Siddhanta a great place is assigned to 'grace' as a liberator of the soul from the bonds of births. See S. Tāyūmānavar's utterances in *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, pp. 21, 26, 47, 57 as typical of Siddhanta prayers for 'grace'. It is well to remember that 'grace' in the Siddhanta has not the same contents as 'grace' in the New Testament.

diverse elements of speculation to be ranked as authoritative teaching. We may safely conclude that—

1. The Upanishads do not propound any *revealed* truth as to the destiny of souls.

2. They are not agreed as to what it is—soul, being, person, elemental soul—about which they postulate transmigration.

3. The theory at first stated in one form by the earliest of them has been amplified and altered by later ones.

4. The varieties of exposition of the theory are so many metaphysical speculations impossible of reconciliation.

5. The existence of diversity of exposition in so vital a matter as a theory of the destiny of souls deprives the exposition of claims to consistency and authority.

6. The precariousness of the destiny of *some* of the moon-going souls is not based on any equitable principle.¹

7. The means for reaching the world of Brahma by the path of the gods are unequal in strength as endeavours, and are not equivalents—the five-fire secret, the mystery of institutional religion, the *Gayatri*, the *Om*, asceticism, knowledge of etymology, knowledge of God, and grace of God.

8. The spiritualizing of the concrete requirements of institutional religion, however much it may be a concession to a growing 'modernness' of outlook, should consistently lead to a complete denial of the value of a doctrine that in the beginning had been itself firmly fixed in such concrete and rigid requirements.

§ 7. Whence did the Indian thinkers have the doctrine of the transmigration of souls? According to the writer of the *Chandogya Upanishad*, in the beginning 'this knowledge did not go to any

¹ The statement that in a *vegetable* existence there is some chance, and no certainty, of re-birth in a human womb may be the outcome of the writer's vegetarian-diet environment. He could not think of *animals*, anything but vegetables, becoming the food of man. See Glover, *Conflict of Religion*, p. 42.

Brahmana, and therefore in all the worlds it was only to the Kshattriya caste that the teaching belonged'.¹ The *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad* has a similar statement in the words of the Kshattriya king to the Brahmana enquirer—

Do not be offended with us, neither you nor your forefathers, because this knowledge has never before dwelt with any Brahmana. However, I shall tell it to you.²

The questions³ which had puzzled the inquirer were :

(1) Know you how people here, on deceasing, separate in different directions ?

(2) Know you how they come back again to this world ?

(3) Know you why yonder world is not filled up with the many who continually go up thence ?

(4) Know you the path, and by doing what people go thereby ?

The knowledge consists of answers to these questions, and the answers conclude with, 'Therefore it is that yonder world is not filled up.'⁴ The two major Upanishads are agreed that the doctrine is not from any Brahmanic source, it is Kshattriyan in its origin. Sri Sankara comments on the *Chandogya* words thus :

Prior to you this knowledge did not belong to the Brahmanas, nor did the Brahmanas teach this knowledge. It is universally recognized that it was to the Kshattriya

¹ *Chandogyopanishad*, 5.3.7.

² *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6.2.8. Hume (*op. cit.*, p. 162) translates, 'As truly as this knowledge has never heretofore dwelt with any Brahman whatsoever, so truly may not you and your grandfathers injure us.'

³ *Brih.*, 6.2.2. *Chandogyopanishad*, 5.3.2.3.

⁴ *Chandogyopanishad*, 5.10.8.

caste alone that the business of teaching this knowledge to pupils belonged, and *it is through a line of Kshattriyas alone that this knowledge has been handed down up to this day.* Now I am going to impart it to you, and henceforth it will go to the Brahmanas.¹

The Kshattriyas formed the class of warriors and rulers from the first while the Brahmanas had, from even *Rik* times, always possessed, or claimed to possess, a monopoly in religious learning. It is, therefore, a surprise that two Upanishads (apparently independently) should ascribe to the *second* of the twice-born castes the earliest, and for some long time the exclusive knowledge of the doctrine under note. That the Kshattriyas were free to be learned is implied in the reason for their being grouped with the 'twice-born'. Learning was conceded to the third caste too, the Vaisyas, traders. But, the question may yet be asked, 'How did the Kshattriyas, mainly kings and warriors, come to have *exclusive knowledge of the doctrine?*' There is no very cogent reason to disregard the tradition² these two Upanishads attest, and the next step in our line of reasoning is to conclude that the Kshattriyas either discovered the doctrine of transmigra-

¹ Natesan's *Upanishads*, vol. iv. pp. 28-9.

² Professor Keith (*Cambridge History of India* vol. i. p. 144) is 'doubtful if we can accord full credit to the tradition'. See *J.R.A.S.* 1908, pp. 868-72. He notes that Bloomfield (*Religion of the Veda*, p. 218) and Oldenberg (*Buddha*, 5th edition, p. 73) support his view, that in favour of the tradition are Garbe (*Beiträge zur indischen Kulturgeschichte*, pp. 1 sq), Deussen (*Philosophy of Upanishads*, pp. 17 sq.) and Rhys-Davids (*Buddhist India*, pp. 256-7). Professor Hopkins (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. i. p. 264) thinks that 'the Upanishads embody the cultured philosophy of king and noble.' On Kshattriya culture, according to tradition, see Rhys-Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, p. 215 (*S. B. B.*, vol. ii).

tion in their own search after truth, or borrowed it from foreigners with whom they had come in contact. It has been suggested that the Aryan aristocracy borrowed much from the aborigines and from the mass of the people and elaborated the borrowings 'into rationalistic and fairly coherent doctrines'.¹

The belief in re-incarnations was a purely savage surmise, liable to be organized into what is called totemism, an unprogressive and absurd paganism and no more . . . Brahmans and Buddhists borrowed this belief, which was altogether new to the Aryan tradition ; but they found no difficulty in adapting it either to the dogma of the reward of good and evil deeds, or to a monism as rigid as that of the Eleatic School.²

The suggestion, a natural one, that the Indo-Aryans may have had their doctrine of transmigration from their Persian brethren, with whom they had been one in some past age in history, is not quite borne out by the *Vendidad*. As in the Upanishads already mentioned so in the *Vendidad* questions are asked :—

Where are the rewards given ?

Where does the rewarding take place ?

Where is the rewarding fulfilled ?

Whereto do men come to take the reward that, during their life in the material world, they have won for their souls ?³

The answer is from the god to whom the inquirer had appealed :

The soul enters the way made by time, and open both to the wicked and to the righteous. At the head of the Kinvad bridge, the holy bridge made by Mazda, they

¹ Poussin, *Way to Nirvana*, pp. 17-8.

² Poussin, *Op. cit.*, 18.

³ *Vendidad*, Farg. xix. 27 (*S. B. E.*, vol. iv, p. 218).

ask for their spirits and souls the reward for the worldly goods which they gave away here below. Then comes the beautiful maid who can distinguish She makes the soul of the righteous go up Above the Kinvad bridge she places it in the presence of the heavenly gods themselves Gladly pass the souls of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura Mazda to the abode of Ahura Mazda The souls of the righteous are gathered together there. ¹

The wicked, it is said, are carried off in bonds by the fiend who sits at the gate of hell. Now, if the *Vendidad* represents Iranian theology at some period when it became systematized, its theory of the last things is fundamentally different from that of the Upanishads—there is *no doctrine of transmigration in the Vendidad*. Whether the *Vendidad* be post-Alexandrian or pre-Buddhist in point of time its material may be conceded a higher antiquity than its form ². The *Vendidad* eschatology is more akin to that in the *Rig Veda* than to the elaborate system developed in the Upanishads.

It may be safely asserted that in the religion systematized in a late age in the *Vendidad* not only is there *no trace of any teaching on the transmigration of souls*, but also there is no hint of different paths for souls—to the just and the unjust there is only one path, 'the way made by Time.' The Upanishads did not, therefore, borrow their transmigration tenets from the religion which subsequent to its early origin, became systematized in

Ibid., xix. 29, 30-32, 34. See *Augemaidê* (*S. B. B.*, vol. iv. p. 374), 9-16.

² On date see *Cambridge History of India*, i, 323, Moulton's *Early Zoroastrianism* noted there, also *S. B. E.*, iv, pp. 64-67.

the *Vendidad* and the other sections of the *Avesta*.¹ It is hazardous to conjecture, after the above inferences from the silence of Persian religion, that the Persian occupation of India before or after the expedition under Scylax in about 517 B. C., contributed to the Upanishad teaching on this subject. The Indian doctrine of the transmigration of souls, it may be concluded, is independent of Persian influence.

§ 8. In considering the probabilities of Indian indebtedness to Greek thought for metempsychosis it is necessary (i) to know the age and extent of prevalence of the doctrine in Greece, (ii) to know the periods of Greek contact with India and (iii) to know the period of the oldest Upanishads. Whatever may be the value of the ancient tradition² that the Greeks had their ideas of metempsychosis from Egypt, it is an undoubted fact that the first Greek

¹ The *Vendidad* (1) testing of souls at the Bridge, (2) greeting by the Gate-keeper of Paradise, (3) welcome to the seat of the Supreme are not true parallels to the *Kaushitaki* Upanishad (1) testing at the moon, (2) soul's progress through the world of Brahma, (3) final reception into Brahma. The *Nask's* Fragments (*S. B. E.*, iv, p. 270) contain references of a very late date to a soul's 'future existence . . .' and 'day of resurrection.' Even these do not imply belief in transmigration. On the early Zoroastrian belief in bodily resurrection and on Parsi affinities to Judaism, see Moulton in *H. D. B.*, iv, 990 (δ).

² Herodotus (ii. 123) says, 'The Egyptians were the first who asserted the doctrine that the soul is immortal, and that when the body perishes it enters into some other animal, constantly springing into existence; and when it has passed through the different kinds of terrestrial, marine and aerial beings, it again enters into the body of a man that is born; and that this revolution is made once in three thousand years. Some of the Greeks have adopted this opinion, some earlier, others later, as if it were their own; but although I know their names I do not mention them.' The words 'the first who asserted, etc,' *πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κ.τ.λ.* have been interpreted to mean

thinker who systematized the doctrine in Greece itself was Pythagoras who was born in the early years of the sixth century before Christ and died about 500 B.C. The Greek odist, Pindar (522-443 B.C.), has references to the Orphic teaching on re-incarnation. 'A belief in transmigration was a factor of some note in connection with the Orphic mysteries of Greece.'¹ Of equal importance with Pythagoras in the teaching of metempsychosis in Greek intellectual circles must be mentioned Empedocles. The Pythagoreans had so far adopted and developed the teaching of metempsychosis as to create the impression in the minds of their contemporaries that they could recall details of past births. Ponticus is reputed to have remembered four prior existences.² That Greek notions of transmigration did not restrict re-incarnation to human embodiments is evident from the tradition associated with Pythagoras that he had passed into

that the Egyptians were the first to assert that the soul, being immortal, passed into, etc., etc., that is, the Egyptians were the authors, not of the doctrine of immortality, but of the doctrine of metempsychosis. (Turner, *Notes on Herodotus*, p. 146). The reference to 'some of the Greeks, etc.,' *τοὺτ' αὖτε τῶν λογῶν εἰσιν οἱ Ἕλληνων κ.τ.λ.* is probably to Pherecydes of Scyros and his disciple Pythagoras. Herodotus died about 405 B.C., aged 78. Modern writers like Dean Inge (*Phil. of Plot.*, vol. ii, p. 29) and Dr. Maher (*Catholic Encyc.*, vol. x, p. 235) accept the Egyptian origin of Greek notions of metempsychosis. Hippolytus, among the ancients, traced Greek teaching to Egypt (*Refut.*, i, c. 2.).

¹ Galloway, *Idea of Immortality*, p. 54. Legge, *F.R.C.*, vol. i, pp. 124, 129.

² See Frazer, *Golden Bough, Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. ii, pp. 300-308 for his opinion that the Greeks used 'the old savage doctrine' for inculcating ethical truths. He refers to Pythagoras, Empedocles, Ponticus of Greece, and to Buddha of India in this context.

the body of a peacock, thence to that of Euphorbus, thence to Homer's and thence to that of Quintus Ennius.¹ The same is made more clearly evident from the writings of Plato who is said to have died in his eightieth year in 347 B.C. Thus we read in *Phaedo* ² as the teaching of Socrates :

Not the souls of the good but of the evil are compelled to wander . . . as a punishment for the wicked lives they have lived ; and their wanderings ³ continue until, from the desire for the corporeal that clings to them, they are again imprisoned in a body . . . They are imprisoned probably in the bodies of animals with habits similar to the habits which were theirs in their life-time . . . Men who practised unbridled gluttony, and wantonness, and drunkenness, probably enter the bodies of asses and such like animals . . . Those who have chosen injustice, and tyranny, and robbery enter the bodies of wolves and hawks and kites. In fact it is clear whither each soul goes : each enters an animal with habits like its own . . . The happiest who go to the best place are those who have practised the popular and social virtues of temperance and justice . . . Probably they return to a mild and social nature like their own, such as that of bees or wasps or ants, or, it may be, into the bodies of men, and that from there are made worthy citizens.

In the *Republic* ⁴ Plato, by means of the tale of Er, the son of Armenius, as told by Socrates, has an

¹ Persius *Satires*, vi, 12, *Quintus pavone ex Pythagoreo*. See Tertullian's allusion to this in *De Resurr. Carnis*, c. 1. See for some Latin allusions to transmigration Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 50, *Epod.* xv. 21, *Sat.* ii. 6. 62, *Sat.* ii. 43. *Carm.* i. 28 ; Lucretius *De Rerum Natura*. i. 124. Lucretius flourished, 95-52 B.C., Horace, 65-8 B.C., Persius, A.D. 34-62.

² *Phaedo*, 81. 82.

³ With 'wanderings' cf. '*Samsara*' in Upanishads where souls are said to 'roam and wander from birth to birth',

⁴ *Rep.*, 614-20.

account of the destiny of souls after death. The principal points in the statement are these and they are to be noted for resemblances, in some respects to Egyptian, and in others to Indian, views on the subject:

1. The just 'take the road to the right upwards through thê heaven': the unjust 'take the road downwards to the left.' These paths run in through two 'gaps'.¹

2. 'The cycle of punishment recommenced every century' and retribution for an offence was on a ten-fold scale.²

3. Punishments and rewards were according to whether deeds were respectively bad or good.

4. Each soul had to choose its own birth, but the experience of the last life guided the choice.³

5. Unjust men passed into the bodies of wild animals and the just into those of the tame.⁴

6. After the choice each soul drank a draught of forgetfulness and 'the souls were carried up to their birth this way and that'.

7. Therefore a man should 'study wisdom soundly' and 'diligently investigate and study . . . the science . . . by discrimination between the good and the evil life . . . of discovering the better life,' and such a man 'would travel from this world to the other and back again, not along a rough and subterranean, but along a smooth and heavenly, road'.⁵

¹ See above, p. 232 for 'paths', and see *Kaushitaki*, 1.2. for 'gaps'.

² See above, p. 249 note for Egyptian 3,000 years.

³ Animal existences were chosen by Orpheus, Ajax, Agamemnon, and animals chose human existence.

⁴ See above, p. 235.

⁵ Compare with this (see above, § 4 at p. 235) the Upanishadic injunctions as to 'saving knowledge', and contrast the practical Platonic directions with the laborious methods of institutional religion in the Upanishads.

In the *Phaedrus*¹ it is explained that :

1. The soul is immortal and indestructible and uncreate.² It 'resembles the combined efficacy of a pair of winged steeds and a charioteer'.³

2. The 'perfect and fully-feathered soul roams in upper air, but the soul that has lost its feathers is carried down' to an earthly body.

3. The plumage of the soul is fostered by 'beauty, wisdom, virtue and all similar qualities ; it is wasted and destroyed by ugliness, vice and all such contraries.'

4. There are revolutions and cycles of existence for souls, and souls are classified according to their endeavours after the attainment of 'the spectacle of truth'. A soul 'which follows a god most closely and resembles him most nearly' is highly favoured, and in sad contrast to it are the unfortunate 'common herd . . . which make their revolution in the moisture of the lower element'.

5. 'There is an irrevocable decree that, if any soul has followed a god [in the revolution in which gods also take part] in close companionship and discerned any of the true essences, it shall continue free from harm till the next cycle, and if it be ever thus successful, it shall be ever thus unharmed.'

¹ *Phaedrus*, 245C to 250.

² Plato gives reasons for this view and discusses it as an un-borrowed statement, or, if Greek thought is indebted to Egypt for the idea of immortality, supports it by arguments of his own. What Plato says about the soul and of a 'real existence, colourless, formless, and intangible, visible only to the intelligence which sits at the helm of the soul' has Upanishad analogies.

For early Christian views as to the origin of the soul, see Augustine's *Letters* (translated by Marcus Dods) ii, Letter cxliii. Tertullian, *Anti-Marcion*, ii. c. 9 ; Tertullian, *De Anima*, c. iv ; Methodius, *Banquet*, Discourse i, c. vii, Disc. vi, c. i ; Arnobius, *Adv. Gentes*, ii, § 37-48 ; Clem. Alex. *Paedagogus*, iii. c. i ; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iv, c. liv-lx.

³ Cf. *Kathopanishad*, 3.3.6 ; *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 2.9 ; *Maitreya Upanishad*, 2.6, and above, § 3, note, for the chariot idea in Hindu thought,

6. When a soul happens unfortunately to 'miss the glorious sight' of Truth, 'there is a law that the soul thus fallen [into births] be *not* planted in any *bestial* nature during the first generation, but that if it has seen more than other souls of essential Verity' it passes through nine *human* probationary births—its destiny being regulated according as it lives justly or unjustly.

7. A soul's complete cycle lasts ten thousand years.¹

8. A soul that has thrice in succession—in its third millennium—chosen the form of existence of a philosopher is finally safe, but others are judged after their first life and are—

(a) sent to 'prisons beneath the earth to suffer for their sins', or

(b) 'borne lightly upwards to some celestial spot where they live happily for a season',²

(c) 'in the thousandth year' put to choose their second life, and 'then it is that a human soul passes into the life of a beast . . . and to man again.'³

9. 'The soul which has never seen the Truth at all can never get into the human form.' The soul of the philosopher alone has the highest chance.⁴

10. 'It is no easy matter for all to be reminded of their past by their present existence . . . Few, few only are there left, with whom the world of memory is duly present.'⁵

Thus Plato.⁶ The facts previously considered afford evidence of the prevalence of transmigrational

¹ See above, p. 249, note (2).

² Cf. the lot of the 'moon-goers' in the Upanishads, above, p. 233.

³ See *Republic*, noted above, p. 252.

⁴ Cf. with this the value attached to 'knowledge' in the Upanishads.

⁵ Cf. with this *Gita*, iv. 5, *Manu*, iv. 148, and below, p. 268, for Hindu views about memory of past births.

⁶ References in early Christian writings to Greek teaching on transmigration may be seen in Hippol., *Refut.* i, c. 2, c. 3, c. 16, vii,

teaching in Greece from some years before 550 B.C. (fifty years before the death of Pythagoras) close on to near 347 B.C., the date of Plato's death. The period of the discipleship of Pythagoras under his tutor Pharecydes and of the acquisition and teaching of the doctrine are roughly placed half-a-century before the death of the disciple. Now, within the period 550-347 B.C. fall, in India, the beginnings of Buddhism, if not the first missionary endeavours in connection with it; the Persian invasion of North India under Scylax, the Greek sea-captain, to whom is credited a book on India; and lastly the invasion of India by Alexander the Great. The last two facts suggest the possibilities of the contact of Greek thought with India. The period of Greek contact may be more narrowly defined as between 517 B.C. (year of the expedition of Scylax) and 325 B.C. (year of Alexander's departure from India).¹ Had we no other data we should think it very likely that the doctrine of the transmigration of souls had travelled to India, from Egypt, by way of Greece, most probably between the years 517 B.C. and 325 B.C.

The value, however, of this hypothesis is lessened by considerations other than those we have so far noticed. The chief of them is the very generally accepted fact that the oldest Upanishads are earlier than 600 B.C., that is, anterior to the rise of

c. 29; Arnobius *Adv. Gentes.*, Book ii, § 16; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. c. 15; Tertullian *De Anima*, cc. 28-32; Irenæus, *Adv. Haer.*, Book ii, c. 33, among others.

¹ Dates given in *C. H. Ind.*, vol. i, pp. 335, 380.

Buddhism.¹ The first germs of Upanishadic doctrines are believed to go back to the period 1000-800 B.C.² The *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, *Chandogyopanishad*, and *Aitareya Ar. Upanishad* contain passages quoted into Buddhist books written after the death of Buddha.³ Convincing evidence of Greek contact with India prior to 550 B.C. is not available, and, in the absence of such evidence, it is precarious to infer Pythagorean influence on India. The thesis⁴ is faultless that Greece did not borrow from India, but it does not follow from it that India borrowed from Greece. It is consistent with the antiquity of the older Upanishads that the reports⁵ which reached Strabo over a century after Megasthenes contained suggestions of similarities of Indian thought to Greek :

They [the Brahmins] discourse much on death, for it is their opinion that the present life is the state of one conceived in the womb, and that death to philosophers is

¹ Max Müller, *S. B. E.*, vol. i, p. lxvii. Prof. Keith, *C. H. Ind.*, vol. i, pp. 112, 147.

² *Ibid.*, p. lxvi.

³ Rhys-Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pp. 171, 201. A passage in the *Mahali Sutta*, 13 refers to *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 26.15. a transmigration text. See below, ch. xi, § 4 for instances of Buddhist indebtedness to Brahmanism.

⁴ Maintained by Prof. Banerjee in his very ably reasoned out *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 341. Prof. Keith (*J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 569) holds that there is no evidence of Indian influence on Greek thought regarding transmigration.

⁵ Strabo was cautious, even sceptical, about his information. See Strabo's *Geography*, i, c. 2, § 2. In ii c. 1, § 9 he says bluntly, 'Generally speaking, men who have hitherto written on the affairs of India were a set of liars. Deimachus holds the first place in the list, Megasthenes comes next, while Onesicritus and Nearchus with others of the same class manage to stammer out a few words [of truth] . . . No faith whatever can be placed in Deimachus and Megasthenes . . .' See xv, c. 1, §§ 25.9.57. See Rawlinson, *Intercourse Between India and the Western World*, p. 67 for some remarks in favour of Megasthenes.

birth to a real and a happy life. They therefore discipline themselves much to prepare for death, and maintain that nothing which happens is good or bad. . . . On many subjects their sentiments are the same as those of the Greeks. . . . They invent fables also, after the manner of Plato, on the immortality of the soul, and on the punishment in Hades, and other things of the kind. Thus Megasthenes concerning the Brahmans.¹

To the legitimacy of inferring Indian indebtedness to foreign thought for ideas of transmigration, the fact is relevant that the Upanishad doctrine is more akin to the Greek than to the Egyptian. The Egyptian doctrine (if metempsychosis had been known in early times in Egypt) contemplated the transmigration of only the wicked, the certainty of ultimate human embodiment, and the possibility of release in the human birth. Pindar and Empedocles, representing Pythagorean views, are understood to have testified to the transmigration of only the wicked.² Plato, as seen earlier in this section, cannot be taken to mean postulating transmigration for the good and the bad alike, and, when he seems to suggest that, he must be considered to be adding to the Pythagorean tenets. In the Upanishads (as we have already noticed) transmigration is *of all* souls, and souls are subject to risks

¹ Strabo, *Op. cit.*, xv, c. 1, § 59. On Greek and Latin writers on India, see *C. H. Ind.*, vol. i, c. xvi; McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*; McCrindle's (translation of the) *Periplus and Voyage of Nearkhos*; his *Ancient India as described by Ktesias the Koridian*; and his *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*.

² Inge, *Philosophy of Plotinus*, vol. ii, pp. 29, 30. Garbe (*Philosophy of Ancient India*, p. 43) thinks in spite of Herodotus, that the ancient Egyptians were not familiar with the doctrine of metempsychosis. See above, p. 249, note (2).

rather than certainty, and, with the reforms effected by Buddhism, the doctrine of transmigration in India began to wear a Brahmanic aspect and a Buddhist aspect.¹ The impression left on Strabo's mind, at least on the mind of Megasthenes his source of information, appears to have been that the finding of Indian parallels to Greek thought was in the nature of a surprise, and it is noteworthy that *not one Greek writer has ever suggested that India took over her ideas of metempsychosis from Greece* by way of Persia or otherwise, or accounted for the similarities,² while one Greek author, Herodotus, as we have already seen, traces Greek thought on metempsychosis to Egypt. The opinion, therefore, may be maintained that the Upanishad teaching on metempsychosis is indigenous to India.

§ 9. According to deeds (*karma*) good or bad is a soul's transmigration regulated. The Upanishad thinkers went deeper into the matter when they traced deeds to *desire*.

As is a man's desire, such is his resolve; as is his resolve, such the action (*karma*) he performs; what action

¹ See below, ch. xi, § 6. See Rhys-Davids' Introduction to the *Tevigga Sutta* in *S.B.B.*, vol. ii, pp. 298-9, for a summary of Buddhist differences from Brahmanic views on this subject. The chiefest difference is that Buddhism does not teach transmigration of *souls*. For early Buddhist criticisms of the 'soul' idea and 'future state' in Brahmanism, see *Brahma-Gala Sutta*, c. 1, §§ 31-6, c. 3, and the whole of the *Potthapada Sutta*, the book of the 'soul theory'. In the *Mahali Sutta*, §§ 15-9 (the sections form the distinct *Gatiya Sutta*) the question is discussed, 'Is the soul separate from the body'?

² Garbe (*Philosophy of Ancient India*, pp. 37, 39, 42) favours Greek indebtedness to India. He devotes a chapter dealing with the opinions of leading orientalists on 'the connection between Indian and Greek philosophy'. In *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 605, Prof. Keith differs from Garbe.

(*karma*) he performs, into that does he become changed . . . where one's mind is attached—the inner self goes thereto with action, being attached to it alone. Obtaining the end of his action . . . he comes again to this world of action. So the man who desires.¹

Desire is equated with attachment. 'He who in fancy forms desires, because of his desires is born here and there.'² It is taught again:

Samsāra [births and re-births] is just one's own thought . . . What is one's thought, that he becomes. This is the eternal mystery.³

This teaching on desire as the cause of births and re-births in one Upanishad is in complete assonance with the teaching in another. The importance of this doctrine of desire is apparent when we come to think of the state in which there is no *samsara*.

The man who does not desire, he who is without desire, who is freed from desire, whose desire is satisfied, whose desire is the *Ātman* [Deity] . . . he, being very Brahma, goes to Brahma . . . When all the desires that lodge in one's heart are liberated, then a mortal becomes immortal.⁴

He whose desire is satisfied is a *perfected* soul (*kertatman*) even in this life.⁵ It is the mind that

¹ *Bṛihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 4.4.5; 4.4.6. See *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 1.4, where desire is 'the one rope manifold'. In *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 5.7, we are told 'whoever has qualities (*gunas*) is the doer of deeds that bring recompense . . . and roams about according to his deeds'. Some have seen, in the three *πνευματικοί*, *ψυχικοί*, and *ὕλικοί*, of the Gnostics a resemblance to the Sāmhya three classes of men according to *gunas* (see Garbe, *Philosophy of Ancient India*, p. 48). The teaching as to *gunas* (moods, qualities) is elaborated in the *Gita*, xiv, xvii and it is taught (xiv. 23) that he who 'passes beyond the three *gunas* enjoys immortality'.

² *Mundaka Upanishad*, 3.2.2. ³ *Maitreya Upanishad*, 6.34.

⁴ *Bṛihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 4.4.6; 4.4.7.

⁵ *Mundaka Upanishad*, 3.2.2.

generates thought and the mind is pure if free from desire, impure if attached to desire: therefore 'mindlessness is the supreme state'.¹ Thus, according to the Upanishads, beginning with the ancient *Brihad*, it is the mind, it is thought, it is desire, it is attachment, that causes karma: the contrary condition of being, in this life, mindless, thoughtless, desireless, without attachment, is conceivable, and that condition, they concluded, gave release from re-births. *The doctrine of 'action without attachment,' is thus seen to be earlier than the Gita, indeed very ancient, and it is, therefore, inaccurate to say² that the theory of 'actions without attachment' is a post-Upanishadic revolt against the doctrine of karma. We may refer to another set of passages showing that Upanishad thought from of old laid emphasis on 'action without attachment'. Thus the *Brihad*:*

He is the great unborn Atman . . . Such a one the Brahmins desire to know . . . Desiring Him only as their home the mendicants wander forth . . . Knowing this the ancients desired not offspring . . . wealth . . . worlds . . . The Atman is not this, not this . . . Him [who knows this] these two do not overcome—neither the thought, 'Hence I did wrong', nor the thought, 'Hence I did right'. Verily he overcomes both. *What he has done and what he has not done do not affect him.*³

¹ *Maitreya Upanishad*, 6.34. A great place is given in the Siddhanta to a மனந்தற பரிசுத்த நிலை, 'the mindless holy state'. See on Mind' and 'Mindlessness' in the Siddhanta present writer's *Psalm of a Saiva Saint*, Introduction, part v, and pp. 87-208.

² As Hogg does in his *Karma and Redemption*, pp. 45, 46. We have seen that the Upanishads have anticipated the *Gita*. See Dr. Farquhar in *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1921, p. 25.

³ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 4.4.22. With this pre-Gita passage cf. *Gita*, ii. 48, 'Indifference is the Rule',

Again :

Overcome by the pairs of opposites . . . he goes to confusedness and because of confusedness he sees not the blessed Lord, the causer of action, who stands within oneself. Borne along and defiled by the stream of *gunas*, unsteady, wavering, bewildered, full of desire, distracted, this one goes on to the state of self-conceit. *In thinking 'This is I' and 'That is mine' he binds himself with his self as does a bird with a snare.*¹

The first passage speaks of the man whose actions are *without attachment*, and the second of the man who is *attached*. The passages set forth respectively what the *Gita* calls '*indifference*' and the want of it. The *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad's* reference to non-attachment may be explained in the words of the *Gita* :

Verily the man whom these [heat and cold, pleasure and pain] disturb not, indifferent alike to pain and to pleasure, and wise, is meet for immortality.²

Holding in indifference alike pleasure and pain, gain and loss, conquest and defeat, make thyself ready for the fight ; thus shalt thou get no sin.³

Beyond the Pair, indifferent alike whether he gains or gains not, even in working he becomes not fettered.⁴

It is noteworthy that about 300 B.C. Megasthenes had occasion to know that among the Brahmans it was '*the character of a virtuous man . . . to despise alike pleasure and pain, life and death. . .*'⁵ Megasthenes surely refers to the doctrine of Indifference, and it must have been in currency long

¹ *Maitreya Upanishad*, 3.2. See *Taittiriya Upanishad*, 2.9. *Kaushitaki Upanishad*, 1.4.

² *Gita*, ii. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 38.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv. 22. See *Gita*, v. 3, v. 19, xii. 12-19, xiv. 22-5. 'The Pair' are the qualities in antithesis, as pleasure and pain, like and dislike, etc.

⁵ Strabo, *Geography*, xv, c. 1, § 59.

prior to 300 B.C. The *Gita* belongs to a later age. 'Indifference' and 'action without attachment' are part of the pre-Gita doctrinal equipment of karma-transmigration. 'Attachment', 'detachment',—desire, desirelessness—these are in the Upanishads, and are, as realizable possibilities, full of practical contents in the language of the mysticism of all ages. It may be added, with specific reference to Hindu thought, that 'indifference' (of the Upanishads) is, in the doctrine of the Siddhanta thinkers, what is known as 'balancing of karma.'¹

§ 10. So far as the Upanishads are concerned the theory of Release is in the very frame of the formulation of the doctrine of transmigration, indeed it is *not taught in them that there is no release at all to any soul*. What is laid down is that there are chances, there are risks—and there is also the certainty of emancipation to such men as adopt a specified line of action.² The Upanishads may be taken to teach that, each birth is a chance for release. This does not mean that we do not find in the Upanishads modifications of the methods of obtaining release, attenuation of the rigours of early requirements, and an increasingly spiritual outlook.³ The proposition that the Upanishads enunciate the doctrine of transmigration-karma for the purpose of pointing to a way of escape seems to me borne out by the oldest and latest of those writings. The

¹ See note and authorities cited in present writer's *Psalm of a Saiva Saint*, pp. 167-9. Siddhanta scholars find in *Mundaka Upanishad*, 3.1.1-3 and *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 4.6 a statement of 'the balancing of karma'.

² See above, p. 234

³ See above, pp. 239-43,

practical side is not dimmed by the theoretical : the idea of release is not separated from the doctrine of *samsara*.

Release, in the Upanishads, is variously named. It is 'mukti', 'liberation beyond the reach of death'¹; it is 'no return';² it is 'freedom';³ it is 'freedom from sorrow';⁴ it is the breaking of 'fetters';⁵ it is the overcoming of 'the second death'.⁶ The theistic, indeed even monotheistic rather than polytheistic,⁷ environment in which the beginnings of the doctrine of transmigration-karma may be laid, at any rate in the Upanishads, is evident from Brahma being mentioned as the goal of the souls which go 'by the way of the gods'. Such souls are⁸ 'conducted to the Brahma-worlds', and led 'to Brahma'.⁹ Being 'knowers of Brahma, unto Brahma they go'.¹⁰ It is said of the released soul :¹¹

Just as one driving a chariot¹² looks down upon the two chariot-wheels, thus he looks down upon day and night,¹³ thus upon good deeds and evil deeds, and upon

¹ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 3.13; *Mundaka Upanishad*, 3.2.6.

² *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6.2.15. *Chandogyopanishad*, 8.15. *Prasnopanishad*, 1.10.

³ *Chandogyopanishad*, 8.1.6.

⁴ *Mundaka Upanishad*, 3.1.2.

⁵ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 5.13.

⁶ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 3.4.2.

⁷ Dr. Farquhar (*Hibbert Journal*, October, 1921, p. 31) thinks that 'when the karma theory took shape in the seventh century B.C., theism did not exist in India. The men who created the doctrine were polytheists.'

⁸ *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6.2.15.

⁹ *Chandogyopanishad*, 5.10.2. ¹⁰ *Kaushitakai Upanishad*, 1.4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1.4, *ad fin.* ¹² Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* noted above, p. 250.

¹³ The Siddhanta thinkers call this 'sahala, kévala' condition of the soul 'night and day'. Tāyumanavar (see *Psalms of a Satva*

all the pair of opposites. This one, devoid of good deeds, devoid of evil deeds, a knower of Brahma, unto very Brahma goes on.¹

Ignorance of Brahma, not knowing Brahma as the essential unity of being, leads a soul, releaseless, from birth to birth, 'from death to death'.² The soul that has no attachments 'reaches Brahma . . . and, because all the knots of the heart are cut . . . becomes immortal'.³ The fact that we can detect in the Upanishads definite traces of progress in dogma should not make us hesitate to see in the early references to Brahma, in eschatological contexts, a purely theistic, even monotheistic, environment in which the Hindu doctrine of karma is set. The *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, which attributes transmigration and release to God,⁴ represents advanced Upanishad thought in substituting for the Brahma-idea of its predecessors the more general, and less limited, 'God-idea' peculiar to it. The teaching is repeated: *By knowing God (deva) one is released from fetters*.⁵ That mention is made of Brahma and Brahma-knowers in the *Svetasvatara* does not diminish the significance of the reiterated theme that, apart from knowledge of God, there is no redemption from evil, including the evil of re-births.⁶ *Only by knowing Him does one pass over death . . . Him who of old created*

Saint, pp. 3, 130, 131, 200) speaks of 'night of forgetting, day of remembering'. 'Day and night' in *Prasna*, 1. 13, are different

¹ This passage refers to the soul which has reached 'indifference,' that is, whose deeds are 'balanced'. See above, § 9.

² *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 4.4.19. *Kathopanishad*, 4.11.

³ *Kathopanishad*, 4.14, 4.15. ⁴ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 6.16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.8, 1.11, 2.15, 4.16, 5.13, 5.14 and 6.13. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.20.

Brahma . . . There is no other path.¹ He is God,² the Lord,³ and is Siva.⁴

The evolution of the idea of Release culminates in the principle of *prasada*, 'grace', as an efficient means of effecting freedom from the fetters of transmigration. There are foreshadowings of it in the Upanishads.⁵ It is more definitely indicated in the *Gita*.⁶ It is one of the fundamentals of the Siddhanta, which, accepting the theory of many expiatory births, is practical enough to insist on the best use being made of a soul's human birth.

Of births and bodies without number,
This present human is the best.
This missed, who knows what I may suffer
In births to be, and go unblest ?

While in this birth and in this body,
My spirit's shelter, halting place,
'Tis best that I in joy be blended
With bliss that from the sky of grace

A cloud with bounty laden raineth
Beatitude. Before the day
When this my body's frame and fashion,
Belike a show, shall pass away,

I pray that by the grace of Sakti
The blessedness may here be mine
To drink the mystic moon-drawn Soma,
Incessant drink the draught divine.⁷

¹ *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 6.15, 18. On the superiority in the Siddhanta writers of Siva to Brahma, see my *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, Introduction, part iv.

² *Svet.* 4.1.

³ *Ibid.*, 4.11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.14, 4.16. The word *Siva*, meaning 'benevolent, auspicious' is taken here as a noun.

⁵ *Kathopanishad*, 2.20. See above, p. 221. See *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 6.4.

⁶ See above, p. 214.

⁷ *Tāyumanavar. Tambyah's Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, p. 115.

The grace of God, foregleams of which early Hindu thinkers had, and the fulness whereof is found in Jesus Christ, is sufficient to save souls from 'the second death.'¹

§ 11. The *Code of Manu* is an advance on Upanishad thinking. It gives details of the workings of the law of re-births. A relation between sin and the embodiment is implied, and on this principle is framed the following sequence:—

1. He who blames his teacher will be born an ass.
2. He who defames his teacher will be born a dog.
3. He who is jealous of his teacher will be born an insect.
4. He who robs his teacher will be born a worm.²
5. For sins of acts a man will be born an inanimate object.
6. For sins of thought a man will be born a person of low birth.
7. For sins of speech a man will become a bird.
8. If a man steals grain he will be born a rat.
9. He who steals water will become a water-bird.
10. He who steals honey will be born a fly.
11. He who steals milk will become a crow.
12. He who steals sweetmeats will be born a dog.
13. The thief of carriages will be born a camel.
14. The lifter of cattle will be born a goat.
15. The Brahman who drinks strong drink will be born a worm, then a filthy insect, and then a beast of prey.

One who robs a fellow-Brahman must pass a thousand times through the bodies of spiders, snakes and chame-

¹ Rev. xx. 6 and xxi. 8 refer to the 'second death'. This is not the same as the 'second death' in the Upanishad. The Targum of Jonathan on Isaiah, xxii. 14 explains 'second death' as meaning neither hell nor annihilation, but as that which happens when a soul that has animated a body a second time separates from it (Farrar, *Mercy and Judgment*, p. 199 and Charles, *Esch.* 353).

² *Code of Manu*, ii. 201.

leons. The unchaste will be born as grass, shrub and then as a carnivorous animal.¹

It is clear from the fifteenth group of warnings that they were occasioned by circumstances calling for strong admonition against the lapses of the priestly class, and so belong to a period of time when the priests had become a body full of potentialities for evil and had given scandalous evidence of their capacity for it.²

It is noteworthy that Manu does not refer to the risks we have mentioned early in this chapter, of vegetable existence. Grass and shrub existences are penal, he says, and preparatory (there are no chances) to a further penal carnivorous existence. From the *Code of Manu* we gather that there is an ethical reason for every physical existence, yet at the same time we are not taught that it is character that determines embodiment but rather particular acts. In other words, Manu is concerned with sins and not with sin. A man who stole a bit of honey when a boy may live to be a man who on an evil day robs his teacher of money. For these isolated acts, in spite of the highly virtuous and religious life of his closing years, the man will be born once a fly and then a worm. The inexorability of law which visits isolated acts with unerring precision and particularity has no provision for repentance, reform, forgiveness. It is all law, often suggestive in its workings of complications as in the case of a man who for a number of different sins, venial and mortal, may be hurled into various existences one after the other—and then ? Manu contemplates

¹ *Code of Manu*, xii, 9, 62, 67, 56, 57, 58, ² See above, ch, vii, §9.

retribution not reformation. Manu's punitive system does not expressly have in view the welfare of the sinner ; it is not taught that he will have in one birth any beneficial, or other, recollection of his last existence.

§12. Up to a point the doctrine of transmigration is an attractive hypothesis. It is not wholly so. It breaks down under test. Take remembrance. The Upanishads do not suggest that there is to a soul in one birth any recollection of prior existences. The *Gita* expressly denies to Arjuna any remembrance of his past births, while Krishna, since not originally human, is made to claim recollection of *his* past.¹ Manu, to whom belongs, as seen in the last section, the credit of grading penal embodiments on a scale intended to be proportionate to the sin, makes remembrance of prior existence possible to a man who, in spite of his lapses, had once been a student of the Vedas.² It is only in Buddhist and theosophical circles that one hears of evidences of past births. In the *Dialogues of the Buddha*³ we read of Buddha reasoning about 'the soul' and referring, in the course of his discourse, to 'some recluse or Brahman who claimed to recollect in full detail both of condition and of custom, his various dwelling-places in times gone by' and who, from such recollection, concluded 'that though living creatures transmigrate and pass away, fall from one state of existence and spring up in another, yet they are for ever and ever'.⁴ In a note to the

¹ *Gita*, iv. 5.

² *Manu*, iv. 148.

³ *Brahma-Gala Sutta*, §31 (*S.B.B.*, vol. ii, p. 27.)

⁴ See *Samanna-Phala Sutta*, § 93, 94 (*S. B. B.*, vol. ii, p. 90.)

Mahapadana Suttanta, opening verse, the translators say :—

According to the commentary only religious teachers, religious disciples, Pacceka Buddhas and the Saviour Buddhas could recall their own or other previous lives, and, of the first, only those who taught karma. Except the memories of the great Buddhas, which have no limit whatever, a limit is given in the case of each of these classes, beyond which they could not recall. This systematizing of a popular belief seems to indicate that, when Buddhaghosa lived, no claim to such transcendent memory was actually made among his contemporaries.¹

If transmigration is the lot of the vast majority of mankind, if not of the totality of mankind, it is extraordinary that there is not a widespread, if not universal, testimony to remembrance of prior existences. Transmigration fails to bring home to a soul the fact of its births, and is thus defective in that it does not make the soul realize by remembrance the punitive or purificatory aims of existences.

How do the ethical implications of the doctrine of karma stand in relation to 'fate' and free-will? It would seem to be Hindu opinion, early in the sequence of Hindu thought, that individual effort, individual action, are the guiding factors in the destiny of man. There is no power, except in a limited way, from without which prevents error or precipitates man into wrong-doing. Thus the *Mahabharata* :

The gods do not watch over one, stick in hand, like a shepherd watching a flock of sheep. Those whom they wish to correct they indicate towards good deeds. One's own exertion is the soil and destiny, the sum of one's acts

¹ *S. B. B.*, vol. iii, p. 4.

in previous birth is the seed. The harvest grows from the union of both. The luminous bodies in the firmament,—the sun, the moon, the winds, even Vishnu himself, the gods, rishis, royal sages—have all attained to their high state through evolution by dint of their own exertions. Man's powers, if properly examined, follow his destiny, but destiny alone is incapable of conferring any good. When exertion is wanting, destiny does not help the man who is steeped in ignorance and avarice. There is no inherent power in destiny. When one's exertion is put forth, then does destiny show its hand.¹

The words of a modern European thinker may appositely conclude this section :

The theory of eternal pre-existence ascribes to man as much freedom as it allows to God. This is so far satisfactory. But for one difficulty which the theory of pre-existence removes it creates a hundred. The connection between mind and body, between character and organism, between parental or racial character and individual character, is so close, that, if the real inmost core of a man's character be due to an original eternal nature modified by the acts of previous lives, we must suppose that every soul after each successive death is kept waiting in some extra-corporal limbo till Evolution has developed parents to whom it can suitably be assigned, and an organism which will serve as a faithful expression of its present moral status no less than as an adequate discipline for its future moral advancement. The theory is not capable of positive disproof, but it is unsupported by the obvious and *prima facie* evidence of experience.²

¹ *Anush Parva*, c. vi. For a statement in non-technical terms of the place of 'free will' in the scheme of the New Psychology see Hudson's *Recent Psychology and the Christian Religion*, ch. vii.

² Rashdall, *Theory of Good and Evil*, vol. ii, pp. 346, 347 (Book iii, c. iii, § vi). For a discussion by modern writers of the ethical value of karma-transmigration, see Dr. Farquhar's *Karma* in *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1921 ; Dr. McNicol's *Transmigration and Karma* in *Expositor*, October, 1918 ; Father Gnanapragasam's *Philosophical Saivism*, c. xii, and his *Controversy on Transmigration* ; Professor Hogg's *Karma and Redemption* ; Cave's *Redemption, Hindu and*

§13. 'As He [Jesus] passed along, He saw a man blind from his birth. *His disciples asked Him, "Master, who had sinned, this man or his parents, that he should be born blind?"*' Jesus replied, "Neither this man, nor his parents,—but that the works of God might be manifested in him".¹ These words have, since Beza's time,² been taken to refer to a belief in metempsychosis. The antiquity of the view does not necessarily mean its correctness. It is well to note about the disciples' words that, as Bengel so finely puts it,³ 'an interrogation, especially a disjunctive one, asserts nothing, and an assertion of *the disciples* would not compel us to an assent.' Nor should it be forgotten, as Delitzsch reminds us,⁴ that 'the question is the expression of the embarrassment into which they [the disciples] were thrown *by the false premiss that bodily suffering of the individual is always the punishment of sin.*' In the popular⁵ assumption that misfortunes and suffering are punishments of sin we are led, by those who would read transmigration and karma and pre-existence into the context of such befallings, to an aspect of karma not contemplated by the Upanishads

Christian, c. ix. All these are by Christian writers. See *Hibbert Journal*, January, 1922, pp. 362, 368 for comments on Dr. Farquhar's article.

¹ St. John ix. 2, 3. ² Stier, *Words of the Lord Jesus*, v. 426.

³ *Gnomon*, ii. 372.

⁴ *Biblical Psychology*, part vii, § 2.

⁵ Job iv. 7; viii. 6; St. Luke xiii. 2, 4; Acts xxviii. 4; St. John ix. 34 with Exod. xx. 5. The question of the righteous not being always prosperous and the wicked being sometimes afflicted is discussed in the *Tractate BeRakot*, ch. i, *Mishna*: Fol. 7a and it is stated that 'the righteous man who is afflicted with adversity is *not perfectly* righteous, . . . and the wicked man who enjoys prosperity is *not perfectly* wicked.' The element of suffering for sin is conspicuous.

or the Greek thinkers, namely, that the soul is punished for its sins, not merely by being born in various bodies but by being *born in bodies which are affected with deformities and infirmities*. Bodily defects and ailments in a human existence are nowhere, in the early systematic thinking on the subject of karma-transmigration, mentioned as part of the penal process of births. That there is, in many instances a close connection between suffering and sin is not to be denied, but that every case of suffering corresponds to sin in the sufferer cannot be maintained. Our Lord, while teaching the dependence of suffering upon sin in some cases,¹ has nowhere taught that suffering, when it is associated with sin, is the result of acts done in any existence other than the one in which the suffering is felt. He Himself was an instance of suffering for no sin of His, for 'He was wounded for *our* transgressions',² and 'Himself took *our* infirmities'.³ It is thought by some that in the time of Christ the Jews believed in a man's capacity for ante-natal sins, and the disciples' question is supposed to refer to this belief.⁴ Those not accepting this view maintain that the Jews of Christ's days held the doctrine of transmigration. Josephus, who is relied on for this position, does not, when closely examined, support it at all. He speaks in two places of the souls of the good as passing into new human bodies,⁵ and in a third he deals generally with

¹ St. John v. 14.² Isaiah liiii. 5.³ St. Matt. viii. 17.⁴ Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, vol. iii, p. 340.⁵ *Bell. Jud.*, Book ii, c. viii ; § 14, Book iii, c. viii, § 5. In the second passage he says that the souls of the just are 'in the revolution of the ages sent into pure bodies.'

rewards and punishments after death without specific reference to re-births.¹ The reference in the transmigration passages being to the souls of *the just*, Josephus cannot be relevantly invoked to aid in explaining the Johannine text. In addition to the irrelevancy of the testimony of Josephus, may be mentioned against his credit the shrewd opinion of Delitzsch, that over the Biblical resurrection as held by the Pharisees 'Josephus, in order that it might not be used to put him to shame before the Romans, casts this Pythagorean-Platonic garment.'² The disciples' question contains exhaustive alternatives. Our Lord's answer does not commit Him to either. It ignores the assumption underlying the question. It rivets attention, ignored by the question, to God's place in relation to man and of the service of suffering to His glory.

The blindness was not the consequence of any sin on the part of the parents, nor yet the consequence of any sin of his own foreseen and foreknown³ by God before his birth. Beyond the answer to their precise question our Lord does not go. He does not give an answer as to the origin of suffering : but He does so as to the ultimate issue of it, namely, the manifestation of the works of God, i.e., His glory. In this case the blindness and the cure were to be means by which spiritual light was to come to this man, and no doubt in a measure to others who beheld the cure. An inference may be drawn touching the mystery of

¹ *Antiq.* Books xviii, c. i, §3. This passage clearly implies that those in his other works do not refer to transmigration.

² *Bib. Psych.*, vii, §2.

³ Pfenninger and Tholuck have suggested that the blind man had been punished at birth by anticipation, for sins he was sure to commit after birth. This view has the merit of obviating recourse to pre-existence and transmigration. Stier, *Words of the Lord Jesus*, V. 425, favours this.

suffering that all suffering will in the long run be found to have helped the human race . . . towards the knowledge of God. And we must suppose that every sufferer will in the long run be made aware of his share in promoting that advance, though to-day he suffer blindly, little conscious of his privilege.¹

There was not, we have seen,² in Biblical Judaism³ anything like a belief in the transmigration of souls. The evidence of Josephus—and he has been much doubted⁴—as to Jewish beliefs in his time, if taken cumulatively,⁵ does not attribute to the Pharisees a belief in the transmigration of souls. 'What is represented in a philosophizing style as the doctrine of the Pharisees is merely the Jewish doctrine of retribution and resurrection, already testified by the *Book of Daniel* (xii. 2), by all subsequent Jewish literature, and also by the New Testament, as the common possession of genuine Judaism.'⁶ Rabbi Adler, who died in 1911, held this opinion :

We attach but slight weight to Josephus on matters of religious dogma. The first clause of the passage in which

¹ G. H. Trench, *Study of S. John's Gospel*, pp. 223, 224. On the Aramaism of *ἡνα φανερωθῇ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ*, the Greek denoting objective result, not subjective intention ; see Trench, *Op. cit.*, 224 (note). See Burney, *Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 69-76. Stier (*Op. cit.*, p. 429) draws attention to *Jno.* xi. 4 as illustrating the general principle of suffering being designed for God's glory.

² Above, §2.

³ On the vague use by Christians and Jews of the term 'Judaism' see C. G. Montefiore's remarks at pp. 435, 436 of the *Hibbert Journal* for April, 1922.

⁴ Schurer, *History of Jewish People*, vol. i, pp. 97, 99. Farrar, *Life of Christ*, p. 20, and *Mercy and Judgment*, pp. 192, 194. Fairweather, in *H.D.B.*, extra volume 292a.

⁵ The passages referred to in a previous note, from his *Jewish War* and his *Antiquities*.

⁶ Schurer, *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 13.

he speaks of the belief of the Pharisees betrays the untrustworthiness of the second. There is not the slightest evidence to support the view that the souls of the good only pass into another body. Such a doctrine is not even alluded to in the Talmud.¹

It is about the resurrection, not transmigration, that the Talmud raises discussions.² A prayer, to be said at waking, given in the Babylonian *Talmud*, rebuts suggestions of transmigration :

O my God, the soul which Thou hast given me is pure. Thou didst create it within me, Thou didst breathe it into me, Thou preservest it within me, and Thou wilt take it from me, *but wilt restore it unto me hereafter*. So long as the soul is within me, I will give thanks unto Thee . . . Blessed art Thou, O Lord, *who restorest souls unto dead bodies*.³

When Jewish thought began to be affected by Hellenistic influences it incorporated the Greek idea of 'immortality' into its views of the 'resurrection'. The *Book of Wisdom* illustrates this influence.⁴ In that congeries of miscellaneous speculations, called the *Kabbala*, a work belonging to later Judaism, there is reference to a *Gilgul Nephanoth*, 'cyclic journey of souls'. Many modern Jews nurtured on the *Kabbala* believe in re-incarnation and 'cycles' of existence. The belief in the pre-existence of souls is later in Judaism than *Enoch*

¹ In a communication to Dean Farrar, quoted in his *Mercy and Judgment*, p. 194. Josephus, says Farrar, 'Graecises, Romanises, philosophises and Cæserises' to suit his purpose.

² The *BeRākōt*, fol. 15b (Cohen's translation, p. 100) proves, e.g. from Prov. xxx. 15, that the resurrection of the dead is taught in the *Torah*.

³ *BeRākōt*, fol. 60b. For a collection of Talmudical views on the soul see Hershon, *Genesis with Talmudical Commentary*, p. 94.

⁴ viii. 20, ix. 15, xv. 8. See Schurer, *Op. cit.*, Div. ii, vol. iii, p. 233; Stier, *Op. cit.* v. 426.

and 2 *Esdras*.¹ Later Rabbinism, not the pure Jewish Kabbala as represented by the Book Jezira, had ideas such as the passing of the soul of Nabal into a stone, and those of the Babel-builders into mill-wheels.² Even if we concede, with Delitzsch,³ that there was 'a popular superstition' in the time of Christ that 'one and the same man may emerge at several times under different names in the current history of this world,' we are very far from finding transmigration in the Jewish beliefs of our Lord's day. On the whole the existence of a belief in transmigration among the Jews of our Lord's day may be held not proved, 'while the

¹ Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, pp. 131, 299. 'This idea must be pronounced thoroughly un-Jewish, at all events un-Palestinian, although the mediaeval *Kabbala* harbours notions of this sort,' p. 299.

² Stier, *Op. cit.* v. 426. At p. 427 Stier follows earlier authorities in thinking that *Wisdom* viii. 19, 20, do not bear a transmigration interpretation. The Rev. J. T. Marshall in *H.D.B.*, vol. iv, p. 636 finds pre-existence implied in *Wisdom* viii. 11 and is very positive that 'to affirm that the Jews in Christ's time did not believe in pre-existence is simply inaccurate,' and he, with the same degree of assurance writes that *Jno.* ix. 2 shows that the disciples believed at one stage of their spiritual development in the blind man's ante-natal sin. The reasoning, where Mr. Marshall gives any reason, is not sound, and he dogmatizes without any regard, or reference, to other opinions.

³ *Bibl. Psych.*, vii, §2. Reference is made to *Mt.* xiv. 1, *Mk.* vi. 16, *Lu.* ix. 9, *Jno.* i. 21, *Mt.* xvi. 14, *Lu.* ix. 19. The texts usually relied on by non-Christians to prove transmigration, or at any rate re-incarnation, out of the N. T. are *Mt.* xi. 14, xvi. 14, xvii. 3.10-13, *Jno.* ix. 2 read with *Malachi* iv. 5. Even a Christian like Slater (*Higher Hinduism*, p. 222) finds *Jno.* ix. 2 a stumblingblock. Our Lord's exposition of the Elijah idea and the Gospel view that John Baptist was Elijah 'in the spirit and power of Elijah' is a corrective, authoritative, so far as Christians are concerned, of any notion as to re-incarnation. See *Lu.* i. 17, *Mt.* ix. 13, xvii. 12, 13. Dr. Cobb (*Mysticism and the Creed*, p. 130) infers from *Jno.* ix. 2 belief in pre-existence of souls. See his full note, pp. 124-132 of the same work.

question of its being entertained by Him or taught in the Gospels must be answered in the negative'.¹ Hindu writers² may be right in only a limited extent in ascribing to 'Jews' a belief in transmigration, if by 'Jews' they do not mean those whose faith is pre-Kabbala Judaism.

In the early days of the Church, after the sub-Apostolic age, Christian thinkers are reported to have been attracted to some, or all, aspects of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. Attempts of men like Basilides and Carpocrates to prove transmigration out of the Bible³ are not, to the student of Church history, of so great import as the views of Origen which, in his day and in later times, placed his vast learning and his orthodoxy under grave suspicion of being tainted with transmigrational tendencies. No one, however, reading his Περὶ Ἀρχῶν will find in its chapters any ground for charging the author with tenets analogous in their entirety to Egyptian, Hindu, Greek or Rabbinic. The English translators of his great work say :

None of his works exposed him to so much animadversion in the ancient Church as this. On it chiefly was based the charge of heresy which some vehemently pressed

¹ Prof. Zenos, in *H.D.C.G.*, vol. ii, p. 746. The article contrasts favourably with Marshall's in *H.D.B.*, vol. iv, p. 63 in point of moderation and reserve, and references to authorities. In the *E.R.E.* xii, 435, Dr. Gaster discusses transmigration in Judaism in most of its principal bearings. He refers to it, *gilgūl* (rotation), as 'a doctrine which forms part of a system of esoteric mysticism tolerated rather than approved or furthered by Judaism.' He draws his information largely from the *Zohar* and other Zoharistic writings.

² Sabaratnam, *Essentials*, p. 153, for example.

³ See texts noted in Delitzsch, *Biblical Psychology*, vii. §2.

against him. . . . The points on which it was held that he had plainly departed from the orthodox faith were . . . that the souls of men had existed in a previous state and that their imprisonment in material bodies was a punishment for sins which they had then committed. . . .¹

In the preface² to his book, Origen expressly states what matters the Church teaches as necessary to salvation and that it has left unsaid other things. *He nowhere suggests in the preface anything even remotely resembling transmigration*, and the preface professes to summarize Apostolic teaching. Thus, whatever he says in the body of the book, if found to be at variance with Apostolic teaching, is clearly to be *understood as his own views and not as those of the Church*. The opinions he states and elaborates in his book are never once presented as those of the Church, but his own, most earnestly, humbly, and honestly ascertained, reasoned out and presented.³ It is in trying to 'solve the insoluble',⁴ in seeking to find a cause for the inequalities of human lot on earth and to fit in the justice of God with the diversities of human conditions, that he gives expression to the thought that a man's deserts on earth are 'according to the deserts of his previous life . . . and antecedent to his bodily

¹ *Writings of Origen* (Ante-Nicene Christian Library), vol. i, p. vii. Origen (A.D. 105-254) was 'the first great Christian writer of Christian birth' in the early Church (Gwatkin, *Early Church History*, vol. ii, p. 181). Origen's Περὶ Ἀρχῶν is better known by the Latin title *De Principiis*.

² In *Preface*, §5 he states as Apostolic teaching the nature of the soul, its liability to be punished in the life after death, and the resurrection of the body.

³ *De Principiis*, Book ii, c. ix, §4.

⁴ Plummer, *The Church of the Early Fathers*, p. 83.

birth'.¹ Origen did not hold Pythagorean tenets.² Even if he held views most heterodox—and in these days of very elastic orthodoxy who can say what is heterodox?—Christianity is not to be considered as teaching Origenism.³

§ 14. At his dying even the best of men is far from perfection, and perfection on earth is only relative although it is called perfection.⁴ Is it reasonable to suppose that after death the soul undergoes some purificatory process, some expiatory experiences, of duration commensurate with its requirements; or is it that at death the destiny of man is decided for him irrevocably? A very large section of the Christian Church has from early times made the idea of an intermediate state of purification part of its belief. To this day the existence of purgatory is taught in the Roman Church, whose adherents are far more numerous than those of the other great Christian bodies. Rid of its accidents and accessories the Roman doctrine of purgatory has something that appeals to reason and seems to be in accord with an all-embracing sense of charity. At the same time it is well to remember that purgatory is only

¹ *De Principiis*, Book ii, c. ix, §7; Book iii, c. iii, §5, Book iii, c. v, §4.

² Gwatkin, *Early Church History*, vol. ii, p. 209.

³ For just estimates of Origen's learning, zeal, piety, and orthodoxy, see Farrar, *Mercy and Judgment*, cc. x-xii; Plummer, *Church of the Early Fathers*, pp. 81-84; Gwatkin, *Early Church History*, vol. ii, c. xx; Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, vol. i, c. viii, §ii.

⁴ Sacramelli, *Directorium Asceticum*, Section i, Art. i, ch. i, §§10. 11. 'Perfectionism' was one of the errors of Beguards, Beguines and the Illuminati. On Oberlin Perfectionism see Prof. Warfield's articles in *Princeton Theological Review*, January 1921, April 1921, July 1921.

for the imperfect good. Consequently, attempts at incorporation into eschatological beliefs of a scheme of reformatory discipline for the bad ones of mankind have always had some fascination. One may not over-censure Origen's larger hope, more than Cobb's pleas¹ for pre-existence and reincarnation. Among other modern strong believers in re-incarnation is Dr. McTaggart of Cambridge. Dean Inge does not profess to fancy the extension of reformatory chances into an existence after death.

Dr. McTaggart asks, 'How could the individual develop in time, if an ultimate element of his nature was destined not to recur in time?' But what ground have we for supposing that the destiny of the individual to 'develop in time' is beyond the space of a single life? It is a pure assumption, like the unscientific belief in the perpetual progress of the race, so popular in the last century.²

In a previous section we submitted reasons for the view that the doctrine of metempsychosis as propounded in the Upanishads could hold no interest for us, and made no appeal. While reiterating that opinion we may welcome any suggestion, reasonably consistent with Christian fundamentals, which is calculated to give full effect to the redemptive work of Christ. A foothold for such an idea is furnished by the doctrine of purgatory.³ What if there be in God's infinite

¹ *Mysticism and the Creed*, pp. 124, 132.

² Inge, *Phil. of Plot.*, vol. ii, p. 35, citing McTaggart's *Hegelian Cosmology*. Among non-Christian faiths, Islam expressly forbids belief in transmigration (Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 198, 257).

³ The Christian view of the purification of souls after death is best seen, in summary, in Hall's *Dogmatic Theology*, x, c. iii, §§ 7-11. In x, c. ii, § 4, Dr. Hall states, 'It is catholic doctrine that the

mercy a purgatory for the bad ones of His children whose death He does not wish? Once I was disposed to think that a series of re-incarnations was a purgatorial plan for the reformation of the wicked, but, on maturer reflection, it seems to me that *purification in one continuous post-mundane existence* is a far better theory to propound. Death is a stage in life. It is not an end at all. Why it should occur where it does is one of the mysteries of existence. All that death accomplishes is not revealed to man: the one thing it certainly achieves is the separation of the soul from the body. Life still lives. The soul, disembodied, continues its existence only under conditions, perhaps, no longer material. The soul wings its flight homewards—but her soiled wings? Would the soul's Beloved who longs for the soul with love's full longings, by the side of Whose fulness the fullest of the soul's cravings are poor and cold, leave His beloved without provision to fit herself for the presence of the Bridegroom? The soul may elude the Pursuer for a long while, measurable by brief years or

judgment of every man is determined by his deeds done in the body. . . . Accordingly the moment of entrance into the unseen world is the moment of divine and irreversible decision as to each human person's future, whether it shall be that of indefectible progress towards eternal blessedness or that of final forfeiture of salvation and endless punishment.' A great deal has been said, and it seems to me justly, against this manner of dogmatizing on the destiny of souls. Dr. Charles Harris, in *E. R. E.* xi. 837, reasons, convincingly, that purgatorial ideas, purification not being confined to the just, were well established in Judaism long before Christ, and Christianity simply adopted them. The most scholarly exposition of Roman Catholic teaching on eschatology is to be found in the *Summa Theologica* of S. Thomas Aquinas (Dominican English edition), Part iii (Supplement), Questions lxi—lxxxvi.

lengthy aeons, but at last the quest will be over and the Pursuer and the pursued shall meet in the bridal chamber. If we let our thoughts go out into the love-lit paths of Mysticism, we shall speedily forget the philosophy of birth-fetters, of bonds that are believed to bind souls to body after body, and of all stalking spectres of speculation, and shall be determined to know nothing more than the Love of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

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CHAPTER XI

A FORERUNNER OF THE MORNING

§ 1. In the summer of 1913 I happened to attend a Buddhist 'service' held on a Sunday evening in a small room in Buckingham Street, London. A Ceylon friend of mine read a portion of the Buddhist Scriptures, and there was, in lieu of 'prayer,' recitation by some present of verses from the devotional literature of Buddhism. Mrs. Rhys-Davids was to have preached the 'sermon'. As she was unable to come, her 'sermon' was read by her distinguished husband, the well-known scholar, Professor Rhys-Davids. The severe simplicity of the service, and the abstruse grandeur of the discourse, seemed to me to symbolize, and fit in well with, the chilling disconsolateness of all I had known in Ceylon of the psychic solitudes of the religion of the Buddha. That 'service' made me recall, in contrast, the warmth of worship which I had for years associated with certain annual demonstrations in the Temple at Maligakande in Colombo, and likewise did I remember, and again in contrast, the pomp and picturesqueness of the *perahera* festival at Kandy in connection with the yearly exposition of the sacred Tooth Relic at the Dalada Maligawa. The London 'service' in the small room in Buckingham Street, not far from the rush

and struggle and turmoil of life near Trafalgar Square, is typical of philosophic Buddhism, Buddhism strictly so called, the lofty lonelinesses of which upon its withering heights, the average man, the average woman, in the East or in the West, cannot easily reach. For such ordinary men and ordinary women is the blending with the Buddhism of the Buddha of popular beliefs, theistic and animistic, and for such are *pnasalas* and temples, shrines, and from such are votive flowers and free-will offerings, prayers and praise. This blending may have existed from the very earliest times.¹ The origins of Buddhism belong to a period when such parallel lines of religion formed a feature in Hinduism. There was Brahmanism, with its philosophy, and there was too the religion for the masses, the unphilosophic many. Buddhism grew out of Brahmanism, out of Brahmanism which had travelled far from Vedic ideals, and left very much in the rear the Vedic gods.² The old religion was reformed and revolutionized by the new. Buddhism is, in a sense, Reformed Brahmanism.³ It was the resultant of a revolution in thought accomplished in the midst of conflicting factors which formed the environment in which the Reformation was born. There were in the Gangetic Valley, when Buddhism arose, *Animism* and *Polytheism* side by side with *Monism* and *Dualism*, and there was rigid orthodoxy striving for life amidst demonolatry and idolatry,

¹ James Pratt's *India and Its Faiths*, p. 404.

² As to the few gods in Buddha's time, see T. W. Rhys-Davids *Early Buddhism*, p. 15.

³ T. W. Rhys-Davids, *Early Buddhism*, pp. 22-6.

and there were too the materialistic systems of thought of rank rationalism and atheistic free-thinking.¹

§ 2. The birth of the founder of Buddhism, Gautama Buddha, in the sixth century before Christ at Kapilavastu in the chief town of the Sakya tribe of Aryans, about a hundred miles from the holy city of Benares, put him in the midst of Brahmanical surroundings. His father was a wealthy land-owner² and was able to give his son Gautama³ a good education. The leanings of Gautama, there is abundant traditional proof, were towards the ascetic life. It is amongst the very earliest of facts alleged about Gautama that he, on a certain day, deliberately gave up father and mother, wife and child, and all earthly ties, left his home, to become a wanderer. This was the Great Renunciation, the historicity of which, however, deficiently attested, need not be a matter of doubt. At any rate, if a legend, it has the sanction of antiquity co-eval with the beginnings of Buddhism.

Fact and legend are beautifully interwoven in Edwin Arnold's great poem.⁴ Gautama became a Wanderer,⁵ a mendicant ascetic. In Rajagriha, in the eastern valley of the Ganges, were several Hindu hermits. Gautama became the disciple of first one

¹ Monier Williams, *Buddhism*, p. 56. Pal's *Religion of the Hindus*, Buddhist Period, gives a garbled summary of T. W. Rhys-Davids's *Buddhism*, pp. 22-6.

² That he was a king is now considered legendary.

³ Some Rishis so named are the authors of some of the hymns of the *Rig Veda*.

⁴ *The Light of Asia*, Book iv.

⁵ The class of wanderers is briefly described by Rhys-Davids, *Early Buddhism*, p. 4.

of them, Alara, and then of another, Udraka. He learnt under them the then current tenets of philosophic Hinduism. The Brahmanic upbringing of the Buddha is a fact not to be overlooked in the study of Buddhist origins and in the assessment of the extent of Brahmanic influence in the formulation of Buddhist fundamentals. 'The very first point made clear by the study of the original documents is that the Buddha never seriously thought of founding a religious system in direct opposition to Brahmanism. He himself was a Hindu of the Hindus, and he remained a Hindu to the end.'¹

It is certain that long before Gautama's time, the Brahmans had paid great attention to the deepest questions of ontology and ethics, and were divided into different schools, in one or other of which most of Gautama's metaphysical tenets had previously been taught. Such originality as can be claimed for him arises more from the importance which he attached to moral training above ritual or metaphysics or penance; and to the systematized form in which he presented ideas derived from those of various previous thinkers. Like all other leaders of thought he was the creature of his time and it must not be supposed that his philosophy was entirely of his own creation.²

Gautama, a modern writer, observes, '*specialized* on some existing beliefs, *modified* many, *rejected* others, and substituted new ones; but his greatest contribution to the new religion was *himself*—his

¹ Monier-Williams, *J.R.A.S.* (N.S.), vol. xviii, pp. 129-30. J. M. Robertson (*Pagan Christs*, part ii, Ch. ii, § 13) thinks that 'Buddha' is unhistorical and is the outcome of 'the mythopœic action of the religious mind.'

² T. H. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p.

tender love, his sublime faith, his purity, enlightenment and peace.' ¹

§ 3. The personality of no religious teacher before Christ, not excluding 'the man Moses who was very meek,' ² has so permeated his teaching and affected the faith of his followers as that of Gautama Buddha. This is all the more marvellous when we remember that he built on old foundations utilizing already existing material. . . . The bulk of his doctrine, as we shall presently see, is traceable to Brahmanic sources. It is still more remarkable that preaching, such as his and that of his early disciples, purely ethical and metaphysical, with all the wonted accessories of worship and religion practically eliminated—god, priest, sacrifice, ceremony—fell on listening ears and there were added to the Order daily many that felt convinced. It is obvious that in the Brahmanic environment of the age of the Buddha there was receptive preparedness. This consisted, among other favourable factors, of resentment in the hearts of the laity against the arrogance and exclusiveness of the Brahmans as teachers and as priests, and likewise of impatience to break down the slowly strengthening barriers of caste. ³ Gautama was not a Brahman, and, being a Hindu layman, he was able successfully to appeal to the laity of his time. With very few exceptions the earliest adherents of Buddha's teaching were laymen, and Buddhism

¹ W. L. Hare's *Buddhist Religion*, p. 10.

² Numbers xii. 3.

³ Caste, as now known in India, was not known then. *Early Buddhism*, p. 10.

admits into the non-celibate section of its Order not only laymen but also laywomen, married and unmarried. When we have considered the preparedness of his age for Buddha's teaching we have not exhausted the reasons for the rapid spread of teaching so deliberately dissociated from what use and wont, to say nothing of inherited spiritual prepossessions, had from of old put in the forefront of the indispensable things of religion—god, priest, sacrifice, ceremony. *The* reason for early Buddhist successes must undoubtedly have been the personality of Gautama. The preparedness afforded by the Brahmanic environment was an auxiliary factor. We are free to disregard as apocryphal the portentous preliminaries of his birth,¹ but account must be taken of the substrata of fact siftable from the legendary overgrowths of years in connection with the doings and sayings of the Buddha. Rightly has it been remarked by one who was not obsessed with pro-Buddhist predilections :

There are ample materials for an extended life of Gautama ; and the incidents that are recorded of his more immediate disciples are almost of equal extent. Of this matter the greater part may be a mass of mere absurdity, with as little of interest as would be presented by the details of a consecutive series of the dreams of a disturbed sleep ; *but it is probable that nearly every incident is founded upon fact* ; and if we were in possession of some talismanic power that would enable us to select the true and reject the false, *a history might be written that would scarcely have an equal in the importance of the lesson it would teach.*²

¹ See Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, ch. vii. Arnold's *Light of Asia*, Book i.

² Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 132. Italics mine. :

The same writer, conservative in many respects, adds at the close of a full and faithful setting forth of the legendary biography of the Buddha¹:—

. . . There runs through the narrative a semblance of reality ; and the reasons why he renounced the world, the austerities he practised in the wilderness, and his warfare with the power of Evil have a parallel in the history of almost every ascetic saint whose life has been recorded.²

I am inclined to give a less grudging assent to the historicity of the bulk of the biographical data that have come down to us from the fifth century before Christ. The picture painted in the words of indisputable antiquity has been 'regarded as the prime effort of the mind of heathendom to present a faultless and perfect character . . . the Eastern beau ideal of that which is the most beautiful and praiseworthy and great.'³ We must start with the assumption that antiquity could not have fabricated the Buddha and forged for him the character it has given him. 'At this time of day we may say that the life of Siddhartha Gotama of the Sakyas, as a historical fact, is at least as well demonstrated as that of the founder of any other religion of any antiquity.'⁴ True, we have not for the life and the words of the Buddha such corrective and comparative manuscript evidence as we have for the books of our New Testament, and this circumstance justifies the excision, from the Life of the Buddha, considerable amount of matter⁵ as legendary accretions. Yet, the

¹ *E.g.* his styling the Buddha a prince. (*Op. cit.*, p. 355).

² *Op. cit.*, p. 355.

³ Hardy, *Op. cit.*, p. 360.

⁴ Mrs. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 17.

⁵ Contained for instance in the *Lalita Vistara*, a Sanscrit Life.

original picture is one that is restorable, rid of the age-old dust of legend and exaggeration. The literature of the East is very exaggerative, and an adjustment into normality of statement of such over-worded descriptions as legendary Buddhism furnishes is not impossible. Thus the assertion in the *Sadharam-matankare* that the stature of the Buddha was over 120 cubits, so much over that no creature was able to comprehend it, is a way of saying, 'The Buddha was tall of stature.' It is a well-known, abundantly employed, oriental way. A just historical discernment coupled with a psychological appreciation of the best attested parts of the Pali Canon,¹ should be capable of constructing a biography of the Buddha less fanciful than the one in the *Lalita Vistara* and as nearly interesting as that in the *Light of Asia*. The character of the Buddha colours his authentic and unapocryphal sayings. He is compassionate, gentle, ever pitiful, tender to the weak, solicitous for the suffering, persuasive with the learned, sympathetic with the simple, signally self-sacrificing, giving of his best most gladly to all—truly noble and royal-hearted. He spoke as no man of his day spoke, with the authority of experience. The fact that it was an experience out of which he had shut out God—the Sun does not shine any the less for the man who closes his eyes—does not make that experience less real or his character any the less worthy of admiration. Antiquity of the sixth or the fifth century before Christ has not handed down to us such a picture

¹ See below, § 14.

of any great Brahmanic teacher as we have of Gautama Buddha. Kapila,¹ Vyasa, and others are remembered only for their abstruse intellectual utterances, but not one was remembered in his time, or is enshrined in the memory of later ages, by tender and affectionate details of personal character as the Buddha. This can only be accounted for by the fact that the spread of Buddha's teaching in his time and soon after was due very largely to what men saw, knew, and afterwards recalled and recorded of the impressiveness of his persuasive personality. The Christian's admiration of the Buddha, homage heart-whole to his lofty character, does not make him shrink from the conviction that by the side of the Christ, the great Sakyamuni, is as lamp-light by starlight, starlight by moonlight, and moonlight by the brilliance and blaze of the splendour of the noon-day sun.

§ 4. It is possible to trace to Brahmanic sources many of the practices of Buddhism.

1. As a Hindu, the Buddha had, no doubt, been taught and disciplined in the practice of *tapas*, penance. From nearly the close of the *Rig-Vedic* Age *tapas*² was known in Hindu religion and was a highly elaborated institution. The Buddha practised it for a long time, for six years, in one of the jungles of Urvavela near the present Buddha Gaya.³ He found the physical austerities of no avail to give him peace or rest. His consequent abandoning of

¹ On Kapila, see above, ch. ix, § 1, note (e) as to doubts about the very existence of any person called Kapila.

² See above, p. 105 notes (1), (2).

³ T. W. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 35.

tapas was an offence to his friends who forsook him. In place of the severities of the *tapas* of Brahmanism Buddhism has the milder discipline of penanceless asceticism, as exacting, no doubt, on man's spiritual nature as *tapas* in Brahmanism is on the physical. The Buddha magnified *tapas* by giving it a new dignity and modified it to subserve the best interests of the non-animal side of man.¹

2. I see no reason to doubt the genuineness of the tradition that the prolonged *tapas* experiments of the young Gautama effected in him feelings of utter failure. Out of his failure arose the great temptation to turn back from the plough. It is pictured, for the understanding of the many, objectively in the legends. The subjective reality is unquestionable. The great temptation fits in psychologically with his feeling of failure and despondency. Tradition, well attested by the testimony of antiquity, represents the Buddha as engaged in a great encounter with all the powers of Evil. The fact that the enemy of his encounter, *Marakama* may be a Buddhist transformation of the earlier Brahmanic Mrtyu-Papman² need not whittle down the reality of spiritual combat into a pious myth cast into the mould of an already existing and available Brahmanic framework.

¹ 'His originality consisted above all else, it appears, in limiting the austerities, in following, as he was fond of saying, the middle path, between the carelessness of the worldly and the mild mortifications of the penitent. Still he appears even in this matter to have followed the guidance of the Yoga.' (Senart in *Indian Interpreter*, January, 1910, p. 181.)

² E. Senart in *Indian Interpreter*, October, 1909, p. 140.

Merely because Satan occurs in the *Book of Job*,¹ his mention in the Gospels in connection with the Temptation of Christ² is not to be a ground for holding that the Temptation narrative is a late ecclesiastical fiction projected into the past. The narrative of the temptation of Gautama makes use of the then existent terminology, *Mrtyu-Papman*, *Mrtyu-Evil*, of Brahmanism, only with the fact of the new contents of the conception indicated by modifying the old nomenclature into *Mara-Kama*, *Mara-Desire*.³ The framework is from Brahmanism, the contents are Buddhist. The bottle is old, the wine is new.

3. In his struggle with *desire*, in the long dark hours of the conflict, Gautama was passing through stages of experience. In the end he is victor. Thereafter he, under the Tree which has since become sacred to all Buddhists, the Bo-Tree,⁴ underwent in the quiet of his being the experience which resulted in the Great Enlightenment. Gautama became *the Buddha*, the 'Enlightened One.'⁵ To reach this goal he did not invent any mental process. He utilized the already existing meditation methods, of four stages, of the Brahmanic *Yoga*. The Buddha reached deliverance by the road familiar to the

¹ Job. i. 6.

² S. Matt. iv. 1-11 ; St. Luke iv. 1-13.

³ The *Upanishads* no doubt speak of *Desire* as causing re-births, but it was left to Buddhism to magnify it into the Arch-Enemy of man.

⁴ There is seen at Anuradhapura, in Ceylon, a huge Bo said to be a slip from the original. 'The oldest historical tree in the world' (T. W. Ryhs-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 39).

⁵ T.W. Ryhs-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 40. *Buddhi*=understanding, enlightening.

philosophers of his time. Among sayings of his preserved in the Canon is this—

As a man, brethren, wandering in the forest in the mountain jungle, might see an ancient path, an ancient road, trodden by men of an earlier age ; and, following it, might discover an ancient township, an ancient place, the habitation of men of an earlier age, surrounded by park and grove and lotus-pool and walls, a delightful spot ; and that man were to go back and announce to the King or his Minister, ‘ Behold, Sir, and learn what I have seen,’ and having told him, he were to invite the King to rebuild that city, and that city were to become anon flourishing and populous and wealthy once more—even so, brethren, have I seen an ancient path, an ancient road, trodden by Buddhas of a bygone age . . . the which having followed, I understand life, and its coming to be, and its passing away. And thus understanding, I have declared the same to the fraternity and to the laity, so that the holy life flourishes and is spread abroad once more, well propagated among men.¹

M. Senart has thus the Buddha’s own words to justify his opinion on the Path of Meditation.

Now, this theory belongs no more properly to Buddhism than does the legendary² adventure of which it is the crown. Not only is all this mystical structure familiar to the Yoga, it is, by the conception of the soul which underlies it, as consistent with this system, as it is inconsistent with Buddhism which denies the soul. The

¹ *Sutta-Pitaka*, Samyutta-Nikaya, quoted in Mrs. Rhys-Davids. *Buddhism*, p. 34. It is Buddhist belief that there have been many Buddhas before Gautama, twenty-four according to some authorities and several thousands according to others. The norm, however, of all Buddhas of the past, all Buddhas to be, is Gautama the Buddha. The words of the Buddha above quoted belong, in all probability, to a time when his doctrine had begun to be widely known and accepted, about the latter part of his life.

² I agree with those who do not think all the details of the Temptation legendary.

very form of the Buddhist tradition preserves expressions which have meaning only in the language of the Yoga. It is from the Yoga that Buddhism has received the four states of contemplation or *dhyanas*.¹

4. It is from Brahmanism that Buddhism has derived the idea of the apotheosis of Buddha. He never claimed to be God and his authentic utterances are characterized by a singular reserve on the subject of whether or no there be a God. Buddha's followers, somewhat inconsistently, have not only from early times admitted into their system conceptions of superhuman beings and gods, but have not hesitated to extol Gautama into a position of compeership with the Brahmanic, supreme God, 'Maha-Purusha' and 'Pradhana'. As in Brahmanism, so in Buddhism, the line of legend ran parallel to the line of doctrine, thick-marked in some places and very thin in others. The line of legend was also the line of the heart, attractive to the popular imagination and appealful to the spirit of popular devotion. M. Senart shows very convincingly, in the course of a learned contribution on the Buddhist borrowings from the religion embodied in the *Gita*, that the persistent apotheosis of the Buddha is due to the influence of the Vishnu-Krishna cult.² The deification of the Buddha

¹ *The Indian Interpreter*, October, 1909, p. 142.

² *Ibid.*, January, 1910, pp. 172-8. At p. 178, he says, 'If there had not previously existed a religion made up of the doctrines of Yoga, of Vishnuite legends of devotion to Vishnu-Krishna worshipped under the title of Bhagavat, Buddhism would not have come to birth at all, or at all events, it would have been presented to us under a very different aspect.' Buddhistic borrowing from the religion embodied in the *Gita* is quite consistent with the *Gita* itself being post-Buddhistic, as a book.

appears to have happened before the compilation of the Pali Canon. Dr. Waddell, in an article on 'The so-called Mahapadana Suttanta and the Date of the Pali Canon',¹ writes :—

The proper title . . . is *Mahā-Padhāna Suttanta*, corresponding to the Sanskrit *Mahā-Pradhāna*, or 'The Supreme Onē', a title of the Supreme Brahmanical God, and actually applied elsewhere to the Buddha. . . . It moreover aptly denotes the contents of this book, in which Buddha is invested with the supernatural attributes of the supreme Brahmanical deity Purusha, who, in the godless, dualistic Sāṃkhya philosophy in which Buddha is supposed to have been reared, required as its complement *Pradhāna* or Material Nature. Both title and contents . . . throw important light upon the early theistic developments within primitive Buddhism before the compilation of the Pali Canon. . . . This direct identification of the deified Buddha with the Supreme God under his Brahmanic titles of *Maha-Purusha* and *Pradhāna* exactly preserves the traditional view held by the compilers of the *Mahā-Pradhāna Suttanta*; and it fully explains the relation of the title to the contents of this Pali canonical book. The contents represent Buddha's birth indisputably as the incarnation of a god. . . . He displays on his body the supernatural marks of the *Maha-Purusha*. This latter title never bears in the ancient literature the mere etymological meaning of a 'Great Man' as rendered by some Western writers; but, on the contrary, it is invariably the title of the Supreme Brahmanical Creator conceived anthropomorphically as a cosmic giant, and a recognized title of Vishnu Narayana, and latterly Brahma, as the Creator. The context also altogether testifies unquestionably that the compilers of this Pali canonical book did not regard Buddha as a mere man.²

¹ *J.R.A.S.* July, 1914, p. 661.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 664, 665, 673, 674. Title *Purusha* occurs in *Rig Veda*, x. 90 and *Maha-Purusha* in *Mahābhārata*, xii. 12864; *Ramayana*, vi. 102. It is Vishnu's title in the last two places.

M. Senart's theory of Buddhist indebtedness to the Vishnu-Krishna cult is considerably strengthened by this *Maha-Pradhana* view and the *Purusha* title introduced into Buddhism 'for schématic completeness'.¹ On this subject of the deification of the Buddha it may be relevant to note that, when Buddhism had spread as far as South India, Buddha was known to the Buddhists there as 'Our God Buddha'. In the *Vatha-Urar-Puranam* ² is an account of a disputation of Ceylon Buddhists, then in South India, with a Siddhanta saint, Mānikkavāsagar, author of the *Tiruvāvachagam*. The controversy had for one of its themes the respective claims to supremacy of 'God Buddha' and 'God Siva'. Again, if the *Sivagnana Siddhiar* in Tamil is of date A.D. 1200,³ it is strange that in Book II ch. ii of that work, where there is a hypothetical Buddhist's view of Buddhism followed by forty verses of Refutation, there is *no direct claim that Buddha is God*. We read of assertions like these, 'The great sage Buddha is our Lord . . . omniscient',⁴ 'Are they not mad who say there is a soul and a Lord?'⁵ In the Refutation, however, is this question: 'If you hold the Lord Gautama as your God and Saviour, who then was the Lord whom he worshipped?'⁶ suggesting that the Buddhist was understood to consider Buddha to be God.

¹ Waddell, *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1914, p. 675.

² Canto vi. The date of Manikkavasagar is 7th Century A.D.

³ Nallaswamy Pillai's edition, p. xli of the Introduction.

⁴ *Siddhiyar*, ii. 2. 2. (Statement).

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 2. 12. (Statement); also ii. 2. 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. 2. 9. (Refutation).

5. The conception of *kalpas*, æons, was adopted from Brahmanism. 'Let it be supposed', say Buddhist writers, 'that a solid rock forming a vast cave, sixteen miles high and the same in length and breadth, were lightly rubbed once in a hundred years with a piece of the finest cloth, and by this slight friction reduced in countless ages to the size of a mango-seed; that would still give you no idea of the immense duration of Buddhist-*kalpa*.'¹ As a corollary to the *kalpas* conception, or rather associated with it, is the belief in the pre-existence of the Buddha, *kalpas* before his birth at Kapilavastu, in some stage of being in which as *Bhodisat*, 'the Buddha to be', he first realized the 'intention', *manopranidhana*, of being born to save men. In the seven ages, *asankya-Kaplakshas*, after such intention there have been, it is believed, 125,000 Buddhas. Then came the period of 'expression', *wakpranidhana*, followed by ages in which were born on earth 387,000 Buddhas. The distinguishing merit of Gautama Buddha lay in the fact that through all those æons of waiting he had been passing through countless births and undergoing numberless afflictions to fit him for the high task of being *the* Buddha. It is easy to see that the Brahmanical idea of *yugas*, æons, is worked into the reformed faith with details of the wildest fancy, and its unverifiable voids are filled with hosts of preliminary Buddhas.² From Hinduism popular Buddhism borrowed its heaven and hells, rewards and retribution.

¹ Monier-Williams, *J.R.A.S.*, (N.S.), vol. xviii, p. 151.

² Hardy, *Buddhism*, pp. 87, 88, 93, 98.

§ 5. We find in Brahmanism materials not raw but ready made, with which Buddhism built some of its fundamentals. Brahmanic philosophy, for instance, found the idea of the soul foreshadowed in Vedic literature, and framed the conception of the All-Soul. The schoolmen of Buddha's time had said what they thought was the last word on the soul-idea. They had analysed the conception, as they believed, to its last atom, but it was left to the genius of Gautama to resolve the residuary survival of the idea into the elements of nothingness. Brahmanism distributed the soul, the soul was all, all was the soul: Buddhism dissipated the soul, the soul is nothing, nothing is the soul. Brahmanism identified the soul of man with the All-Soul of the Universe: Buddhism destroyed the equation and denied a human soul as well as an All-Soul.

'What is meant, Lord, by the phrase, "The world is empty?"' 'That it is empty, Ananda, of a self, or of anything of the nature of a self. And what is it that is thus empty? The five seats of the five senses and the mind and the feeling that is related to mind—all these are void of self or of anything that is self-like'.¹

In another passage the same no-soul dogma is taught, and with firmer insistence.

Since neither self nor aught belonging to self, brethren, can really and truly exist, the view which holds that this I who am world, who am 'self', shall live permanent, persisting, eternal, unchanging, yea abide eternally—is not this utterly and entirely a foolish doctrine?²

Buddhism was, as a reform movement within Brahmanism, the natural 'philosophic recoil'.³

¹ *Samyutta-Nikaya*, iv. 54. See Pāsādika Suttānālā, §§ 34-40.

² *Mayjhima-Nikaya*, i. 138, quoted by Mrs. Rhys-Davids in her *Buddhism*, p. 62.

³ Mrs. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 59.

from the speculative extravagances of the Hindu schoolmen—the soul is All, and all is God.¹

How can a merely abstract universal Spirit, which is unconscious of personality, be regarded as possessing any real existence worth being called true life? To assert that such a Spirit is pure abstract Entity or (according to Vedanta phraseology) pure Existence (without anything to exist for), pure Thought or even Consciousness (without anything to think about or be conscious about), pure Joy (without practically anything to rejoice about) is practically to reduce it to pure non-entity. All that Gautama did, therefore, was to bring commonsense to bear in purging Brahmanism of a dogma which appeared to him a mere figment and a sham. He simply eliminated as meaningless and incapable of proof the doctrine of an impersonal, incorporeal, unconscious spirit, whether human or divine.²

By a series of alternating negations, Brahmanism had succeeded in pushing the dogma of the soul and of the All-soul to the very verge of the void, and Buddhism but precipitated it into the abyss of inexorable logic. The 'soul,' taught the Buddha, was a compound, and being so was impermanent, and not 'souls' only were so but demons and gods. Everything is vitiated by impermanence. Nothing *is*.

§ 6. The 'soul,' according to Buddhism, is the aggregate of twenty-eight material properties, eighteen kinds of sensations, six kinds of abstract ideas, fifty-two tendencies and reason. The five main groups are *skandas* and 'it is repeatedly laid down in the *Pitakas* that none of these is the soul'.³ Buddhism combats, in its view of the soul, what it considers sixteen heresies of 'conscious' existence

¹ See above, ch. viii, § 7.

² Monier-Williams, *J.R.A.S.*, vol. xviii, (N.S.), p. 144.

³ Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 95.

after death ; eight of ' *unconscious* ' existence after death ; and eight of any existence ' neither *conscious* nor *unconscious* '.¹ There are thus at least 104 ways in which ' being, ' whether in man or angel, demon, ' deity or dog ' ² originates causation. The Chain of Causation is this :—

On account of ignorance merit and demerit are produced ; on account of merit and demerit consciousness ; on account of consciousness body and mind ; on account of body and mind the six organs of sense ; on account of the six organs of sense, contact ; on account of contact, desire ; on account of desire, sensation ; on account of sensation, cleaving or clinging ; on account of clinging to existing objects, renewed existence ; on account of reproduction of existence, birth ; on account of birth, sorrow, crying, pain, disgust, discontent, decay, death—thus is produced the complete body of sorrow. From the complete separation and cessation of ignorance is the cessation of merit and demerit ; from the cessation of merit and demerit is the cessation of consciousness ; from the cessation of consciousness is the cessation of body and mind ; from the cessation of body and mind is the cessation of the six organs ; from the cessation of the (production of the) six organs is the cessation of contact ; from the cessation of contact is the cessation of desire ; from the cessation of desire is the cessation of sensation ; from the cessation of sensation is the cessation of cleaving to existing objects ; from the cessation of cleaving to existing objects is the cessation of re-birth ; from the cessation of re-birth is the cessation of decay ; thus this whole body of sorrow ceases to exist.³

Brahmanism, before the Buddha, had settled views on everything which is stated here. Brahmanism

¹ Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 98-9. ² Copleston, *Buddhism*, p. 115

³ *Sanyutta*, Gogerly's translation of 1839, quoted in Hardy's *Buddhism*, pp. 391-2.

postulated a *soul* and taught in Buddha's own age :

1. Ignorance, *avidhya*, was the primal cause of all causations.

2. Desire, *kama*, begat actions. The Buddhist uses the happy word *trishna*, thirst, to denote one of the many forms of Desire. The Buddhist's *upadhana*, cleaving to objects, grasping, is the Brahmanic 'attachment' so prominent in the *Gita*.

3. Merit, demerit, re-birth, are *karma* and *transmigration* of Brahmanism.

The Buddha imparted differences into these ideas. He alleged 'ignorance' but did not say whence it came. The Hindu, on the other hand, postulates eternity for it. The *Siddhanta* school of philosophy holds that God, Soul and Bond are eternal, the Bond being *matter, taint, ignorance* and original *sin*.¹ The Brahmanic ascription of some origin to ignorance is more rational than Buddha's silence as to the beginnings of this First Cause. Transmigration was in Brahmanism what befell *souls*. Karma projected the *soul* into various births and bodies, and religion consisted in getting rid of the potentiality of re-births. In Buddhism there is no transmigration of souls.

As Buddhism does not acknowledge a soul, it has to find the link of connection, the bridge between one life and another somewhere else. In order to do this and thus save the moral cause, it resorts to the desperate expedient of a mystery—one of the four acknowledged mysteries of Buddhism (which are also the four points in what it is most certainly wrong)—the doctrine, namely, of *Karma*. This is the doctrine: that as soon as a sentient being (man, animal, or angel) dies, a new being is produced in a more

¹ See *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, Introd. Parts ii. v.

or less painful and material state of existence, according to the *karma*, the desert or merit of the being who had died. The cause which produces the new being is *trishna*, thirst, or *upadhas*, grasping. . . . The 'grasping state of mind' causes the new being (not of course a new soul but a new set of *skandhas*, a new body with mental tendencies and capabilities). The *karma* of the previous set of *skandhas*, or sentient being, then determines the locality, nature and future of the new set of *skandhas*, of the new sentient being.¹

Deeds, according to Buddhism, do not die, or rather die hard, and hence the *persistence* of karma, and hence births and re-births, sorrow and suffering. Deeds are thus everything. Deeds are the Creator. The process of transition from one 'set of qualities' to a second set, upon death, is so instantaneous that it is equal to 'the continuance of the same personality, pervaded by the same consciousness', as, to use a Buddhist analogy, a stream of running water is not the same, and yet is the same, upon any two consecutive moments of time.² Act-force, or character-force, sets in motion the serial continuity of being, births. Karma causes transmigration.³

§ 7. What happens on the cessation of ignorance, and so of desire and so of thirst, and so of attachment, and so of deeds? It was Brahmanic teaching in Buddha's time that ignorance it was which kept the soul back from the realization of Brahma, and this realization was by non-ignorance,

¹ Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 100, 101.

² Monier-Williams, *J.R.A.S.*, (N.S.), vol. xviii, p. 146. Mrs. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 76-7.

³ Transmigration does not extend in Buddhism to entry into inanimate things or vegetables.

that is, by *buddhi*, 'knowing'. Thus, the *Gita* summarizes earlier thought in these words :—

It is said that the senses are great ; greater than the senses is *manas* (mind), greater than *manas* is *buddhi*, but what is greater than *buddhi* is the Supreme. . . . United to *buddhi* one abandoneth here both good and evil deeds. . . . The sages united to *buddhi* renounce the fruit which action yieldeth. . . . When the *buddhi* shall escape from this tangle of delusion, then shalt thou rise to indifference. . . . In that peace the extinction of all pains ariseth for him, for to him whose heart is peaceful the *buddhi* soon attaineth balance. . . . In *buddhi* established he moveth not from reality.¹

If we leave out the context of these words, they, as words, might fitly have been spoken by a Buddhist. The similarity to Buddhist phraseology is one of mere words, for, in the *Gita*, the idea of the soul, and that of God, are ever-present, and *buddhi* involves the conception of devotion to the God of the *Gita*, Sri Krishna, Vasudeva, the Supreme. In the *Gita* sense *buddhi* gives enlightenment, and the man so enlightened is a *buddha*. Gautama the Buddha made use of this Brahmanic term *buddhi* to denote the enlightenment of *his* experience. It is once more the new wine in old bottles.

When ignorance, according to Buddhism, gives place to *buddhi*, and there is cessation of thirst and cleaving and karma, then *nirvana* is experienced. Now, this word *nirvana*, in Pali *nibbana*, is older than Buddhism. It was in currency among the Brahmanic thinkers. The author of the *Gita* embodies earlier thought when he uses *nirvana* :

Nirvana in Brahma do saints win in whom impurity

¹ *Gita*, iii. 42 ; ii. 50, 51, 52, 65.

is destroyed, that have cleft unbelief, strict of soul, delighting in the weal of all born beings.¹

Strict-minded saintly men, who have cast away love and wealth and know the Self, are compassed about by *nirvana* in Brahma.²

There is a suggestion here that *Nirvana* is a *present* realization, a state capable of being experienced in *this* life, in the flesh. The saint is 'compassed around by *nirvana*'. In the *Gita* are indications that to a final state, *after* death, the name *nirvana* was applied :

The man who casts off all desires and walks without desires with no thought of a *Mine* and of an *I* comes unto peace. This is the state of abiding in Brahma. He that has come therein is not confounded; if even at his last hours he dwell in it, he passes into *nirvana* in Brahma.³

The *Gita*, greatly modified the Samkhya and the Vedanta doctrine of the merger of the soul in the All-Soul, absorption into the Godhead, by postulating the soul's individuality when in union with God, when 'the body's dweller, delivered from birth, death, age, and pain, *enjoys immortality*.'⁴ Buddhism, while making use of the term *nirvana* and the doctrine of present realization of *nirvana* as taught in Brahmanism, effected reforms in thought by importing into *nirvana* new conceptions, the newness consisting in the fundamental theory of no-soul and consequent implications.

According to Buddhism :

He whose senses have become tranquil . . . who is free from pride and the lust of the flesh and the lust of existence, and the defilement of existence, him even the

¹ *Gita*, v. 25. See above, ch. ix.

² *Gita*, v. 26.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 72.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xiv. 19. 20; See Barnett's *Gita*, Introduction, §57

gods envy For such are no more births. Tranquil is the mind, tranquil the words and deeds of him who is thus tranquillized, and made free by wisdom.¹

And again :

They who by steadfast mind have become exempt from evil desire and well trained in the teaching of Gautama . . . are in the enjoyment of *nirvana*. Their old karma is exhausted, no new karma is being produced ; their hearts are free from the longing after future life ; the cause of their existence being destroyed, and no new yearnings springing up within them, they, the wise, are extinguished like this lamp.²

The meaning of the word *nirvana*, in Pali *nibbana*, has been much discussed. Before noticing the meanings ascribed to the word let us caution ourselves against readiness to find in other faiths parallels to what *nirvana* denotes in Buddhism.

1. It is not the same as the *nirvana* known to Brahmanism, and it is not the same as *nirvana* in the advanced Brahmanism of the *Gita*.

2. It is not the same as *mukti*, the final state of the redeemed, in the Siddhanta school of Hinduism.

3. The only similarity it has to the Christian 'eternal life' is its being realizable in this present, here and now. To suggest that in Christianity, as in Buddhism, there is the repression, and slaying of the 'self' is to build an assertion on a basic error. 'Self' in Buddhism has not the same contents as 'self' in Christianity. In Buddhism the self to be got rid of is 'the self of individuality, and continued personal consciousness.'³ It must

¹ *Dhammapada*, 90. 94. 95. 96.

² *Ratana Sutta*, 7. 14. Cf. 'The *nibbana* of the little lamp,—emancipation dawns,' *Psalms of the Sisters*, p. 73.

³ Monier-Williams, *J.R.A.S.* (N.S.) vol. xviii, p. 155.

not be forgotten too that the view-points of Buddhism and Christianity are fundamentally different in one great respect—in Buddhism, life is sorrow ; this was the ‘first Aryan Truth’ of the Buddha;¹ but in Christianity life, and abundant life, is the glad heritage of the believer in Christ Jesus.

4. It is erroneous to build on seeming and superficial similarities a conclusion such as this :

This higher life . . . was surely that same æonian life, the Kingdom of God, preached in Palestine. This ‘quenching of desire’ for the world and the self was surely the living water and the bread of life freely offered by Jesus ; this attainment of *nirvana* surely was the new birth not of the flesh but of the spirit, or the ‘coming of the Son of Man’ to those who watch and pray for this appearance in themselves.²

§ 8. *Nirvana* properly means a state of extinction like that of a blown-out flame.³ This is certainly the meaning of the word in its form *nibbana* in the Pitakas.⁴ It is a ‘dying out.’⁵ Extinction, blowing-out, dying out, of what ? Not of life, as many people to this day suppose, in error. *Nibbana* is not the annihilation of life.⁶

Nirvana means simply going out, extinction . . . *It is the extinction of that sinful, grasping condition of mind and heart, which would otherwise, according to the great mystery of karma, be the cause of renewed individual existence.* That

¹ Copleston, *Buddhism*, p. 117.

² Hare's *Buddhist Religion*, pp. 33, 34. Contrast with the loose logic of this book the discriminative little chapters in Annie H. Small's *Buddhism*.

³ Monier-Williams, *J.R.A.S.* (N.S.) vol. xviii, p. 152.

⁴ Mrs. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 175.

⁵ Rhys-Davids, *Early Buddhism*, p. 73.

⁶ *Early Buddhism*, pp. 73-4. ‘Outside the ranks of Pali scholars the old blunder is still often repeated.’

extinction is to be brought about by, and runs parallel with, the growth of the opposite condition of mind and heart; and it is complete when that opposite condition is reached. Nirvana is therefore the same thing as a *sinless, calm state of mind*; and if translated at all, may best, perhaps, be rendered 'holiness'—holiness, that is, in the Buddhist sense, *perfect peace, goodness and wisdom*.¹

Nirvana, in this sense, is a moral condition, a modification of personal character, and is attainable in this life. To attain nirvana here accordingly means to reach the stage of an *arahat*, a saint, an enlightened one. An early discourse of the Buddha, the 'Fire Discourse,' has this significant utterance, 'When the fire of lust, the fire of hate, the fire of delusion, are extinguished, nirvana is won.'² The attainment of Nirvana does not imply the cessation of intellectual energy, for it was after such attainment that Gautama Buddha propounded his doctrine, *Dharma*, founded the Order and went about doing good. Hence the argument of the author of the *Siddhiar*:

If your Lord Buddha gave out his *Dharma* after attaining *mukti*, nirvana, then, his speech after *nirvana* (annihilation of *skandas*) is like that of a person who died by eating ghee and honey together, coming to life again to say that eating ghee and honey together is bad. If you say he died after giving out the *Dharma*, then the law was given out by one who had not attained to *mukti*, and as such cannot lead one to *mukti*.³

This line of argument, in which the fallacy of the ambiguous middle is evident, is surprising in view

¹ Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 111, 112. Italics his. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 265. See Poussin, *Way to Nirvana*, ch. v.

² Thomas. *Buddhist Scriptures*, p. 54. See Subhadras, *Catechism*, pp. 22, 37, 61 and Olcott's *Catechism*, p. 33.

³ ii. 2. 3. (Refutation.) See above, p. 297.

of the clear exposition of *nirvana* given by the author in the words of a Buddhist in the *Statement* :

Nirvana of faults (குற்றவீடு) is attained when the sins of lust, etc., are avoided. Nirvana of skandas (கந்தவீடு) is attained when knowledge of form, etc., is lost.¹

The weakness of the *Refutation* lies in not recognizing that *nirvana* has the meaning of character and condition attainable in the life, 'nirvana of faults,' the word *nibbana* structurally meaning 'a departure (ni-vak) from that craving which is called *vana*.'² This is not the primitive meaning of the word, but an exegesis of it.³

Nirvana not only takes place in life, but also at death. 'A blessed but somewhat indefinite state sets men finally free from transmigration, in potentiality during this life, but in actual effect after death. In both cases, it receives the same names, *santi*, nirvana.'⁴

It is the Buddhist belief that Gautama Buddha attained *nirvana*, finally, at death. The act of dying was not *nirvana*.

When a Buddhist has become an *arahat* (enlightened), when he has reached nirvana. . . . he has extinguished *upadana* (grasping) and *klesa* (error), but he is still alive ; the *upadi*, the skandas, his body with all the power, that is to say, the fruits of his former error remain. These, however, are impermanent, they will soon pass away.

¹ ii. 2. 6 (Statement). The word *mukti* means வீடு = Home, i.e., Heaven.

² *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 168, quoted by Mrs. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 174.

³ Mrs. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 174. E. Senart adopts the view of the mediaeval *Compendium* (*supra cit.*) when he says (*Indian Interpreter*, January, 1910, p. 174), 'Etymologically the word suggests an idea of well-being and peace.'

⁴ Senart in *The Indian Interpreter*, January, 1910, p. 174.

There will then be nothing left to bring about the rise of a new set of *skandhas*, of a new individual; and the *arahat* will be no longer alive or existent in any sense at all; he will have reached *parinibbana*, complete extinction, or *nir-apadi-sesa-nibbana-dhata*, extinction not only of *tinha* (thirst) and of the fires of passion, but also of the upadi and of the five skandas.¹

Does Death end all? From the Buddhist point of view the very question comes under the category of the fourth and last of the Intoxications—the infatuation of speculation. Among questions by the Buddha, the Indeterminates, was this: ‘Whether a man exists in any way, or not, after death.’² Said the Buddha:

The jungle, the desert, the puppet-show, the writhing, *the entanglement of such speculations* is accompanied by sorrow, wrangling, resentment, the fever of excitement. It conduces neither to detachment of heart, nor to freedom from lust, nor to tranquillity, nor to peace, nor to wisdom, nor to the insight of the higher stages of the Path, nor to Nirvana.³

The Buddha was so insistent on the saving, *practical activities of Right Conduct* that he ignored speculation as to the unknown and discouraged it in his disciples.

Why has the Exalted One not declared whether the saint exists after death? Because, brother, this is a matter, that does not make for things needful to salvation (advantage), nor for that which concerns the holy life, nor for distaste for the world, nor for passionlessness, nor for

¹ Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 113-4. James Bisset Pratt records in *India and Its Faiths*, p. 373, the pithy description given by two Ceylon Buddhist monks of the Parinibbana of the Buddha, ‘*Buddha finish.*’

² Rhys-Davids, *Early Buddhism*, p. 69. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 168.

³ *Majjhima*, i. 431, 485. (Rhys-Davids’ Translation),

cessation, nor for calm, nor for insight, nor for enlightenment, nor for nibbana.¹

The opinion² of some that Buddha knew a great deal about the state after death but was deliberately reticent for pragmatic reasons seems countenanced by a recorded saying of his :

Whether or more these few leaves which I have gathered in my hand or the other leaves yonder in the Sinsapa grove? . . . So also, my disciples, is that much more which I have learned and not told you, than that which I have told you? And wherefore, my disciples, have I not told you that? Because, my disciples, it brings you no profit, it does not conduce to progress in holiness, because it does not lead to the turning from the earthly, to the subjection of all desire, to the cessation of the transitory, to peace, to knowledge, to illumination, to nirvana.³

Despite the Buddha's own reserve in the matter of speculation as to the after-death state Buddhists and others have not refrained from inquiring into the matter.⁴ We may thus summarize the principal heads of thought :—

1. There is extinction of being in Nothing.
2. Nirvana is a completion, not an extinction of being.
3. According to early Buddhism, nirvana was 'the entry of the spirit upon its rest, an eternal beatitude, which is as highly exalted above the joys, as it is above the sorrow of the transitory world.'⁵

¹ *Samyutta-Nikaya*, ii. 223.

² 'To me not intelligible' (Rhys-Davids, *Early Buddhism*, p. 70). Dr. F. Otto Schrader's opinion (J. Pali Text Society, 1905) that the Buddha knew of the after-state is criticized by Mrs. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 190.

³ Quoted in Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 204. See Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, ch. xxii, *Nirvana*.

⁴ See treatment of subject in Oldenberg's *Buddha*, pp. 267-85, and texts given in Romanized Pali in *Excursus*, iii.

⁵ Max Müller, quoted in Oldenberg's *Buddha*, p. 268.

4. The Buddha either disallowed or evaded questions as to the ultimate goal.

5. Buddhist orthodoxy taught the foregoing on the knowledge of the being or non-being of the perfected saint.

6. The Buddha has not revealed it.

7. The Perfect One neither exists after death, nor does he not exist.

8. The Perfect One's existence is so unfathomably deep like the ocean, and terrestrial human thought cannot exhaust its depths.

9. The Perfect One has no being in the ordinary sense, but still assuredly not a non-being.

10. 'Does the path lead into a new existence? Does it lead into the Nothing? The Buddhist creed rests in delicate equipoise between the two.'¹

'There is a state, O disciples, where there is neither earth nor water, neither light nor air, neither infinity of space, nor infinity of reason, nor absolute good, nor the co-extinction of perception and non-perception, neither this world nor that world, both sun and moon. That I term neither coming, nor going, nor standing, neither death, nor birth. It is without basis, without procession, without cessation; that is the end of All.'²

Taking over the terminology of Brahmanism, the Buddha also declared:

There is, O disciples, an unborn, unoriginated, uncreated, unformed. Were there not this unborn, unoriginated, uncreated, unformed, there would be no possible exit from the world of the born, originated, created, formed.

Professor Oldenberg,³ quoting these words, notices the Brahmanical associations recalled by 'the uncreated, the unoriginated, unborn, unformed' but holds, as against Max Müller,⁴ that 'the

¹ Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 283-4.

² *Udana*, quoted by Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 283.

³ *Buddha*, p. 283.

⁴ *Dhammapada*, Introduction, p. xliv.

uncreated' means the stage at which the created can free himself from the curse of being created. In the *Dhammapada* are verses,¹ quoted by Professor Oldenberg at the close of a very illuminating study of Nirvana, where the Buddha speaks of an 'everlasting state,' 'happiness,' 'the land of peace where transcience ends'. It is inconceivable that expressions so suggestive of activity, at least of consciousness, should after all be the attributes of Nothingness. To those familiar with the conception of individuality, even where it is thinned to a vanishing point as in the Vedanta, the difficulty of dissociating Brahmanic terminology from the environment of individuality and consciousness is indeed great. It is true that the Buddha took Brahmanic words and Brahmanic concepts only, in many instances, to transmute them into vessels for new contents; yet one hesitates to assert this of expressions which remain in their original setting unqualified by indications of alien sense. We must not forget the Buddha's insistence on the *practical* side of his teaching, his reserve on subjects not conducive to conduct, particularly as illustrated to Malukyaputta in the Parable of the Wounded Man.² The man wounded with the Ill of Life would be unwise to waste his time in speculations. Therefore the Buddha did not teach anything about the Beyond more definitely than that It exists. It is the 'Unborn, unoriginated, uncreated, unformed'; into the bosom of which all the 'being' of the

¹ 225. 368.

² Noted in Oldenberg's *Buddha*, p. 275. Warren's *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 117-22.

'just made perfect' is received, and the extent of which cannot be 'measured by the predicates of corporeal form or be gauged by the measure of the corporeal form'.¹ It is quite consistent with his delicate regard for truth and fine appreciation of reasoning that the Buddha, *not having experienced the Final Release when in the flesh*, was unwilling to make assertions about it, and about whatever lay thereafter. He never claimed to have revelations, though he was born into a faith which traced its fundamentals straight to the Deity. Anything in the nature of a revelation would have been a contradiction of his whole life-work. Therefore, he would not discuss the *unexperienced Hereafter*. Anything that is said in Buddhist books of the state after death is not said by the Buddha, but belongs to the group of unauthoritative though reverent guesses made after his time. The solitary exception is the passage already cited. It is his belief, and withal a *reasoned* belief—'were there not this unborn . . . there would be no possible exit from the world of the born. . . .' He was content to leave it at that—using without comment or qualification² terms of Brahmanic import—listening with home-yearnings to deep calling unto deep. When his hour came he said :

'Now in a little while the Tathagata will pass away . . . My life is done . . . Leaving you I depart, having

¹ Nun Khema's answer to King Pasendi of Kosala. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 279.

² Buddha sometimes expressly contrasted his teaching with that of Brahmins and Samanas. See *Brahmajalasutta* quotation in Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 267, 272, 273. For example, 'Then that would have confirmed the doctrine of the Samanas and the Brahmanas.'

relied on myself alone. Be earnest, thoughtful and pure. Steadfast in resolve, keep watch over your own hearts . . . Do not think the Word is ended now, the Teacher is gone. The Law and the rules of the Order I have taught you will be your Teacher when I am gone hence . . . Do not let yourself be troubled, do not weep. I charge you, everything that cometh into being passeth away. Work out your salvation with diligence.'¹

There can be no hesitation in believing that though the Buddha confined his doctrine to the contents of his experience, he had foregleams of the Great Unguessed. It was reserved to Another to abolish Death and bring life and immortality to light.² Jesus Christ speaks with the assurance of *His* experience :—

'Verily, verily, I say unto thee, we speak that which we do know, and testify that which we have seen; yet ye received not our testimony. If I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you heavenly things?'³ . . . He who sent Me is true, whom ye know not. I know Him, for I am from Him.⁴ Though I bear witness of myself, my witness is trust-worthy for *I know whence I came and whither I go.*⁵

The gentle Gautama could not make such claims. It was impossible in the nature of things, foreign to the arresting consistency of his reasoning, for him to have transgressed his limitations. The

¹ Doubtless authentic closing message of the Buddha. See Rhys-Davids *Buddhism*, pp. 81, 83. See Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 201-2; Thomas, *Buddhist Scriptures*, p. 112; Copleston, *Buddhism*, pp. 79-82. References to the original sources are given in Monier-Williams's *Buddhism*, pp. 48, 57.

² 2 Tim. i. 10. There is no parallel between this text and a similarly worded saying of Buddha from a Chinese source. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 43.

³ St. John, iii. 11, 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vii. 28, 29.

⁵ *Ibid.*, viii. 14.

positiveness of tone characteristic of all Christ's words shows itself in His last discourses :—

' Let not your heart be troubled . . . In my Father's house are many mansions. If it was not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you.¹ . . . Yet a little while, and the world seeth Me no more ; but ye see Me ; because I live, ye also shall live.² . . . Whither I go ye know the way.³ . . . I am the Way, the Truth and the Life.⁴ . . . Peace I leave with you ; My peace I give unto you, not as the world giveth give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid. . . . I go away and am coming to you.⁵ . . . A little while and ye see Me no more, and again a little while and you will see Me.⁶ . . . Ye now have sorrow, but I will see you again and your heart will rejoice.'⁷

The last discourse of the Buddha is logically consistent with *his* claims ; the last discourse of the Christ is likewise logically consistent with *His* claims.

§ 9. Gautama the Buddha died in 543 B. C. This is the date according to the Buddhist tradition in Ceylon. Mr. Vincent A. Smith, on the strength of a recently fully deciphered inscription of about 170 B.C., has arrived at it and a revised estimate of Buddhist chronology :

' The inscription of Kharavela is dated in the year 165 of the Maurya era, *Raja-Mauriya Kale*, equivalent to 170 B.C. Mauriya Raja must be interpreted to mean Chandragupta, and the era must have run from his accession or coronation which may be dated from any year from 326 to 322 B.C. . . . Nandivardhana must now go back to about 470 B.C. or possibly to an earlier date. That finding involves putting back Ajatasatru . . . to at least about 554 B.C. and his father Bimbisara . . . to at least about 582 B.C. Ample evidence attests the fact that Gautama

¹ St. John, xiv. 1. 2.

² *Ibid.*, 19.

³ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 27. 28.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

Buddha was contemporary with both those kings. The Kharavela record . . . supports the old traditional dates for the death of Buddha, 543 B.C. and the death of Mahavira, 527 B.C.¹

We can readily believe that the sayings of the Buddha remained unwritten for a generation or two after his death, for the preservation in oral tradition of the hymns of the *Rig Veda* is a precedent for such a possibility. The words of the Master were for a long time cherished in the devout memory of his disciples, and the sayings, or at any rate, portions of them were, for the first time, reduced to writing in the days of the Emperor Asoka, whose reign may be fixed as between 273 B.C. and 242 B.C.²

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, July-October, 1918, pp. 546-7. Dr. Latham in 1860 (*J.R.A.S.*, vol. xvii, p. 273) placed the beginnings of Buddhism in the period of the Persian Arsacidæ dynasty equating Priyadarsi (of the Edicts) with the Persian Phraates. Prof. Wilson (*J.R.A.S.*, vol. xvi, p. 246) noticed in 1859 dates assigned for Buddha's death between 2240-450 B.C. A group of dates ranging from 1366 B.C. to 835 B.C. is given by John M. Seneviratna in *Ceylon Notes and Queries*, June, 1916, p. cvii. He draws attention to the fact that Fa Hian, the Chinese author, writing in A.D. 412, refers to the death of Buddha as having taken place 1,497 years before that date, that is 1086 B.C., which is exactly double that assigned to that event by the Sinhalese, the Burmese and the Siamese traditions, 543 B.C. The traditional date is not accepted by T. W. Rhys-Davids (*Buddhism*, p. 213) who places the death of the Buddha within a few years of 412 B.C. Mr. Gopala Aiyer (noted by Thomas *Buddhist Scriptures*, p. 16) gives 487 B.C. Bishop Copleston (*Buddhism*, p. 23) thinks 477 B.C. the most probable. Monier-Williams (*Buddhism*, p. 49) gives 420 B.C. Oldenberg (*Buddha*, p. 196) holds that Buddha died 'not long before or not long after 480 B.C.' Vincent A. Smith's 'New Light on Ancient India' (*J.R.A.S.*, July-October,) 1918, p. 543 restores the traditional date, 543 B.C. Mrs. Rhys-Davids (*Buddhism*, p. 250) reckons Buddha's life period as 563-483 B.C. Swamikannu Pillai in his *Indian Ephemeris* (Part i, p. 471) argues for April 1, of 478 B.C., as the true date of Buddha's death.

² Vincent Smith, *Asoka*, p. 68, gives these dates. E. Hultzsch, *J.R.A.S.*, October, 1914, p. 943, discusses Asoka's dates. See Macphail's *Asoka*, 65.

There is reason to suppose that in Asoka's time the art of writing, having passed through years of minority, had reached a mature stage of stability.¹ Evidence is furnished by Asoka's edicts of the employment of competent scribes to write on rock and pillar and also of the making and existence of copies of particular proclamations. The inscriptions show, further, in some cases knowledge of the Aramaic Kharosthti script and in others of 'the Brahmic script, parent of the Devanagari and most of the Indian alphabets.'² The latter script is supposed to have been introduced into India from Mesopotamia about 800 B.C. or 700 B.C. Whatever the script and whenever introduced, there is, in the Edicts, clear proof of the following facts :—

1. The edicts were primarily, if not solely, intended to be read by men of Asoka's time.

2. The people were able to read.

3. The script employed was one capable of being understood by the masses.

4. There was a lack of writing material, and hence the use of stones.

5. Publication of thought was effected by means of the rocks and pillars on which the king had his proclamations inscribed.

This means that in Asoka's time there were probably no books, though this opinion does not exclude the possibility of some written memoranda kept by a community, or college, or an individual of reported, reputed, or remembered words of the Buddha.³ Whence had Asoka knowledge of the

¹ E. Thomas, *J.R.A.S.*, vol. ix, p. 192, touches on this question in an article on 'The Early Religion of Asoka'.

² V. A. Smith, *Asoka*, p. 140.

³ See Professor Rhys-Davids' remarks in *Encyclopædia Britannica* vol. iv, p. 746.

sayings of the Buddha, and whence had he familiarity with them sufficient to enable him to tell the Buddhists of his day what and what were his favourite passages of Scripture?

'These passages of the Law, to wit, [five of the eight named have since been identified with some of the contents of the Pali Canon of Buddhist Scriptures] spoken by the Venerable Buddha, these, reverend Sirs, I desire that many monks and nuns should frequently hear and meditate; and that likewise the laity, male and female, should do the same. For this reason, I cause this to be written.'¹

Asoka says that for two years and a half he had been a lukewarm lay disciple and then he became a 'strenuous' member of the Order.² He must have been taught by some one who had full knowledge of the words of the Buddha. The question suggests itself: how was that knowledge kept alive, in memory or in any written memorandum? Bishop Copleston considers it extremely improbable that records as a whole were kept in the early days of Buddhism though writing is incidentally mentioned in the Pitakas.³ Heedless of opinions, however weighty, one may draw from the facts we have of the age of the bulk of the edicts of Asoka, the inference of a very high degree of probability in favour of some form of written preservation prior to Asoka's time, on however restricted and exclusive a scale, of the principal sayings of the Buddha. To suppose that, at a time when writing was widely known and used, and sayings of the new teacher were published in

¹ *The Bhabra Edict*, Smith's *Asoka*, pp. 153-4. Professor Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 224.

² Minor Rock Edict; Smith's *Asoka*, p. 149. Date about 257 B.C.

³ Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 304-17. See Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, p. 61.

written form albeit on rocks and slabs, there was no man of that age to whom the idea of writing down the best remembered of Buddha's discourses could have occurred, is to postulate the incredible.¹

§ 10. In view of Mr. Vincent A. Smith's recent opinion as to Buddhist chronology² it may be necessary to re-adjust earlier conclusions of scholarship somewhat materially. On the assumption that there is reason to revert to the traditional date of Buddha's death, 543 B. C., the dates of subsequent events will have to be advanced by several years. The sequence, however, of events may be taken as left undisturbed. The principal of them, attested either by tradition or historical evidence or both, are as under, the dates assigned being tentative :—

Death of Buddha, 543 B.C.

First Buddhist Council, at Rajagriha, for collecting Buddha's sayings, 542 B.C.

Second Buddhist Council, at Vaisali, 380 B.C.³

Close of Chandragupta's reign, 291 B.C.

Bindusara's reign, 291 B. C.—260 B.C.

Asoka's reign, 273 B. C.—242 B.C.⁴

Buddhist Schism in Asoka's reign.

Asoka's Edicts.⁵

¹ Professor Rhys-Davids goes no further than believing that before the Edicts of Asoka, Buddhist literature in the form of Pitakas with divisions was known to exist (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, Preface, xiii).

² Above, § 9.

³ This and the next two dates are from Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, Lecture iii.

⁴ V.A. Smith's date, *Asoka*, p. 68. Hultzsch (*J.R.A.S.*, October, 1914, p. 951) places the coronation of Asoka at 264 B.C. This is consistent with Asoka having ascended the throne earlier.

⁵ Rock Edict xiii. is placed at 256 B. C. and Pillar Edict vii. at 237 B. C., two terminal years, by Hultzsch (*J.R.A.S.*, October, 1914, p. 951. See V. A. Smith's, *Asoka*, p. 145. The Maski Edict discovered in January, 1915, is the first to give the name *Asoka*. *J.R.A.S.*, October, 1916, p. 838.)

Third Buddhist Council, at Patna, under Asoka, 240 B.C.¹

Buddhist missionaries sent to Ceylon between 240 B.C.—230 B.C.²

The three Pitakas written in Ceylon, 85 B.C.³

That, soon after the death of their Master, his disciples should have met at Rajagriha to make a collection of all his sayings is in itself not improbable. That such a gathering was in the nature of an orderly Council, that it consisted of 500 members, that Mahakasyappa was its president, that the session lasted seven months, and that the canon of the Scriptures of Buddhism was then settled—these are details lacking historical confirmation. Bishop Copleston's conclusions upon a critical survey of the canonical literature of Buddhism agree with those of Rhys-Davids and Oldenberg as to the unreliability of the assertion in the *Culla Vagga* section of the Pitakas, in the *Dipavansa* and in Buddhaghosha's *Commentary*. He, however, goes further than most other scholars :—

The idea of a series of Councils was late. That idea was not, perhaps even in the Sinhalese chronicles, used exactly with the meaning, which the word is liable, from association of it with the Councils of Christendom, to call up in European minds. But the belief that there was a series of recensions did certainly arise. To which fact was it due? Certainly not to a Council of Rajagriha having been succeeded by a Council of Vaisali.

¹ Monier-Williams (*Buddhism*, p. 60) gives 250 B.C. and V. A. Smith (*Asoka*, p. 74) 240 B.C.

² The King of Ceylon in 250-230 B.C. was Tissa. T. W. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 229.

³ Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, p. 61. '160 years after the Council of Patna and 330 years after the death of Gautama' is Professor Rhys-Davids' opinion. *Buddhism*, p. 234.

No historian believes in the first ; and the second was not a council. Professor Oldenberg believes that the account of the Vaisali proceedings is substantially historical, and that the Rajagriha⁷ assembly is a fictitious double of it. But how should the idea of a *series of sangitis* arise out of one event to which that title hardly applies ? What was the genuine fact of which these are the reflection ? The answer is, the Council held in Asoka's days and commonly called the Council of Patna.¹

Whether the first council is a reflection of the second or both of the third, 'that at the time of the Council of Rajagriha, the doctrines of Buddhism had already been formulated into treatises which could be, and which had been, learnt by heart, is not only not impossible but highly probable.'² 'The books so put together were for a generation or two handed down from memory. . . The probability is that written memoranda were also used.'³ It has been said, however :—

In Asoka's day the mass of the Buddhist literature began to be arranged. Possibly within his reign this was accomplished. . . . But that it was completed before Asoka's reign or before India had felt the Græco-Buddhist impulse of which Asoka is the impersonation—this will not long be believed.⁴

This opinion has the weight of Bishop Copleston's vast learning and discerning scholarship. At the same time, one feels free, in view of the possibility of conflicting probabilities as to matters relating to early Buddhism, to consider the likelihood of every chance of a higher antiquity than the reign of Asoka

¹ *Buddhism*, pp. 300-1.

² Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 214 ; see pp. 36, 235.

³ Rhys-Davids, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, iv, p. 746.

⁴ Copleston, *Buddhism*, p. 303.

being acceptable. In doing so, we may not disregard three facts which are relied upon in support of bringing the date forward :—

1. The evidence furnished by Asoka's edicts of a gradual progressiveness of ideas relating to the faith.

2. The absence of the name 'Pitaka' from the edicts.

3. The internal evidence afforded by the Pitakas of lateness of portions of the books suggesting composition, after heresies and schisms or after degeneracy in the Order or after a king known as 'universal monarch' had erected 'dagobas'.¹

The conclusive character of the third ground is a matter upon which those qualified to speak on the original language of the Buddhist Scriptures cannot have much doubt. The inference deducible from internal evidence is that the *Tri-Pitakas*, the Buddhist Scriptures, as we have them now, contain portions added from time to time by authors, editors or redactors. *This, however, does not mean that no considerable portions of the Pitakas existed from a date very near the Buddha's time or at least earlier than Asoka's age.* The very absence of the use of the name *Pitaka*—a name, like our Pentateuch, or Hagiographa, or Old Testament, given when the canon had been closed—is an argument in favour of antiquity for the Buddha-sayings *subsequently collected, and named 'The Pitakas'.* The name *Pitaka* is later than Asoka's age—this certainly is one reasonable inference. In assessing the probative value of the first of the three facts above stated

¹ Bishop Copleston (*Buddhism*, ch. xxi.) refers to *Samyutta*, xvi. 12; *Maha Vagga*, i. 32. 1; viii. 30. 4. The *Culla Vagga* records, the doings of the Council of Vesali,

we may reasonably ask, 'Do the edicts purport to publish *all* that may have been known to Asoka of Buddhism?' The edicts, there should be no hesitation in answering, are not exhaustive.

This set of edicts of the Law of Piety has been written . . . in a form sometimes condensed, sometimes of medium length, and sometimes expanded; because everything is not suitable in every place, for my dominions are extensive and much has been written and much I shall cause to be written.¹

§ 11. Now what is the evidence of the edicts and other Asoka inscriptions as to the extent of Buddhism known to Asoka? Let us first set down a few chief edictal statements:—

1. Much has been written, and much I shall cause to be written.²

2. For more than two and a half years I was a lay disciple, without, however, exerting myself strenuously. But it is more than a year since I joined the Order and have exerted myself strenuously.³

3. During that time the gods who were regarded as true all over India have been shown to be untrue. This is the fruit of exertion.⁴

4. The king . . . in person did reverence . . . because 'Here Buddha was born, the Sakya sage'. . . 'Here the Venerable One was born'.⁵

5. You know, reverend sirs, how far extend my respect for and faith in the Buddha, the Sacred Law and the Church.⁶

¹ Edict xiv, 256 B.C. (Smith's *Asoka*, pp. 176, 145) The passages from the Edict are from Smith's *Asoka* (edition of 1909) except when otherwise stated.

² Edict xiv.

³ Edict i.

⁴ Edict i. 'Gods' here said to mean either 'popular deities' or 'Brahmans'. (See above, ch. vii, § 6.)

⁵ Rummindai Pillar (249 B.C. *Asoka*, p. 146). The Buddha is not called here a prince or a god, but 'Sakya sage'.

⁶ The Bhabra Edict.

6. Whatsoever has been said by the Venerable Buddha, all of that has been well said. However . . . I venture to adduce this one, 'Thus the Good Law will long endure.'¹

7. I honour as authority the following Scriptures of the Law :—

- i. The substance of the Vinaya.
- ii. The State of the Just.
- iii. The Fears of the Future.
- iv. Poems on (or of) the Wise.
- v. The Discourse on Conduct befitting the Wise.
- vi. The Questions of Upatissa.
- vii. The Exhortation to Rahula regarding Falsehood—

(the Scriptures) spoken by the Blessed Buddha. These (Scriptures) of the Law, I hope, that the honourable monks and nuns may constantly learn and reflect upon.²

8. These are the virtues of the Law of Piety : obedience to parents, reverence to teachers, respect for all living creatures, speaking the truth.³

9. This is the best of deeds, even giving instruction in the Law of Piety.⁴

¹ The Bhabra Edict. Rhys-Davids (*Buddhism*, p. 224) translates, 'By looking upon them as authority . . . the true Law will long endure.'

² Translation in Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 225, Cf. Bhabra Edict. In Smith's *Asoka*, p. 154, the list is as follows :—The Exaltation of Vinaya, the Supernatural Power of the Ariyas, Fears of what may happen, The Song of the Hermit, The Dialogue on the Hermit's Life, The Questioning of Upatissa, The Address to Rahula beginning with the subject of Falsehood. Of these, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 have been identified in the Nikaya portion of the Pali Canon (Smith's *Asoka*, 154 note). The title of 2 in the original is *Ariyavasani* and is said to be a description of *Nirvana* (Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 226). Rhys-Davids identifies 1 with the *Patimokkha*, 'the foundation of the first part of the First Pitaka', 4 with 8th—or 9th—book of fifth part of the Second *Pitka* (*Buddhism*, p. 22, *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, p. 639. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Introduction, p. xiii.)

³ Minor Rock Edict ii.

⁴ Edict iv. of the fourteen Rock Edicts.

10. Wherein consists the Law of Piety? In these things: no impiety, many good deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness and purity.¹

11. The virtues of mastery over the senses, purity of mind, gratitude and steadfastness are indispensable.²

12. Pious practices . . . including self-control and alms giving.³

13. The king, after he had been consecrated ten years, went forth on the Path to Wisdom.⁴

14. Set them moving on the Path of Piety.⁵

15. Both this world and the next are difficult to secure save by intense love of the Law of Piety, intense self-examination, intense obedience, intense dread, intense effort.⁶

16. His Sacred Majesty regards as bearing much fruit only that which concerns the other world.⁷

17. You are in a position to make these people trust me and to ensure their prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the next, and by so doing you can both win heaven and discharge your debt to me.⁸

18. The one course avails me for the present world, the other course avails me for the world to come.⁹

19. The ceremonial of this world is of doubtful efficacy. Perchance it may accomplish the desired end, perchance, on the other hand it may not, and so it remains of no effect in this world. The ceremonial of Piety, on the contrary, is not temporal; for even if it fails to attain the desired end in this world, it certainly begets endless merit in the other world.¹⁰

20. Whatever exertions the king makes, all are for the sake of the life hereafter so that every one may be freed from peril, and that peril is Vice. Difficult it is to attain such freedom save by the utmost exertion.¹¹

¹ Pillar Edict ii.

³ Pillar Edict iv.

⁵ Kalinga Edict i.

⁷ Edict xiii. (fourteen Rock Edicts).

⁹ Pillar Edict iii.

² Edict vii. (fourteen Rock Edicts).

⁴ Edict viii. (fourteen Rock Edicts).

⁶ Pillar Edict i.

⁸ Kalinga Edict i.

¹⁰ Edict ix. (Fourteen Rock Edicts).

¹¹ Edict x.

21. Whatever exertions I make are for the end that I may discharge my debt to animate beings, and that while I make some happy here, they may in the next world gain heaven.¹

22. There is no such almsgiving as the almsgiving of the Law of Piety—friendship in piety, liberality in piety, kinship in piety. Herein does it consist—in proper treatment of slaves and servants, hearkening to father and mother, giving to friends, comrades, relations, ascetics, and Brahmins and sparing of living creatures. . . He who acts thus both gains this world and in the other world begets infinite merit.²

23. Aiming at the welfare and happiness of mankind . . . if haply I may guide some of these to Happiness.³

24. All men are my children.⁴

25. Pious acts and conformity to the Law of Piety are those whereby compassion, liberality, truth, purity, gentleness, and saintliness will grow among mankind.⁵

§ 12. From these edictal statements, we may, without overstretching their sense, reasonably infer the following :—

1. Asoka, after two years and a half of Buddhist discipleship, found his old Faith unsatisfying. What that was the edicts do not definitely show, but there are indications that it had associations with 'gods,' 'asceticism,' and 'Brahmins,' and also it was a Faith, one of the fundamentals of which was a belief in an 'after existence' an 'other world of merit', a 'heaven'. These are not Samkhya thoughts nor are they conceptions of any form of philosophic Brahmanism of his age outside

¹ Edict vi.

² *Ibid.*, xi.

³ Pillar Edict vi. 'This clause expresses clearly the object of Buddhist ethics'. (Smith, *Asoka*, p. 189, note 2).

⁴ Kalinga Edict i. 'An echo of the saying, "All beings" are my children' ascribed to Buddha'. (Smith, *Asoka*, p. 177, note 5).

⁵ Pillar Edict vii.

of what we can discover in that religion which, at a later date, we find particularized in the *Gita*.¹ *The thought of a 'hereafter' of 'heaven to be gained in the other world' so persists in the edicts*² that we are justified in thinking that Asoka's faith, as seen in the edicts, was *Brahmanism with a revised estimate of old values, a reformed Brahmanism*. Heaven is, moreover, an idea foreign to, indeed utterly inconsistent with, Buddhism as we now have it. The Buddhism, as taught to Asoka, that of the edicts, is a Buddhism with very clear and very definite conceptions of a life to come with heaven for the reward of merit. When we remember that Gautama the Buddha was born into Hinduism, nurtured on it, and died within the pale of Hinduism, a Hindu,³ we are not far from the impression that the Buddha's teaching as known to Asoka retained, if it did not reiterate, at least did not expressly or implicitly destroy, the idea, so inseparable from theistic theology, of a future existence in an 'other world,' and such teaching, further, left Asoka free to style himself 'The Beloved of the Gods'.⁴ In this connection should be mentioned the corroborative evidence of the 'Heaven' feature of early

¹ E. Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, vol. ix, p. 192) thinks Asoka's early faith was Jainism.

² See above, § 10, and Smith's *Asoka*, pp. 164, 167, 168, 170, 175, 178, 180, 182, 184, 186, 195 for passages where the thought occurs in the Edicts.

³ 'One misconception . . . that Gautama was an enemy of Hinduism. . . . Gautama was born, brought up and lived and died a Hindu. . . . He was the greatest, wisest and best of the Hindus.' (T. W. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 83-5).

⁴ *Devanam Piya*, also rendered 'Delight of the Gods' is directly coupled with Asoka for the first time in the Maksi Edict (*J.R.A.S.*, 1916, p. 838).

Buddhism furnished by the Besnagar Pillar inscription, 'B' of the second century B.C. One translation of it is :—

'Three are the paths which . . . followed lead to immortality, namely earnestness in Heaven (-aims), earnestness in self-restraint, and earnestness in charity.'¹

Lieut.-Col. Waddell, in the course of his re-interpretation of the Besnagar inscription, remarks :—

The triad category of the three 'paths' or literally 'steps' (*pada*) specified in the Brahmanical stanza are absolutely identical with the first three cardinal virtues specified by Buddha in his first sermon² at Benares in its most archaic version preserved in the *Mahapadkhana Suttanta*, as the path for crossing to Nirvana, and forming the original version of the *Paramiyo* or *Paramita*. . . That Buddha should ever have taught that the worship of the gods was one of the main paths to Nirvana is certainly opposed to the spirit of the later Hinayana Buddhism. Yet we find in the very first Hinayana book of the first collection of Buddha's discourses that *Saggo* is declared by Gautama to be the third of the cardinal virtues and the ordinary meaning of that word is Heaven (Sanskrit, *Svarga*). Another meaning of *Saggo* is 'abandonment', that is, the Sanskrit *Sarga*, in which direction I find the word was eventually altered, but originally it seems as if Buddha took over these three Brahmanical 'paths' bodily as the basis of his *Paramtas*. For, I find, in what is the same trifold category under the title of *Anussatitthana*, in the *Dharmapada*, that *Saggo* therein appears as *Devata* or 'the gods'. The evidence seems to establish irrefutably the fact that the Buddha, according to what must be accepted as the earliest authentic texts, took over bodily from the Brahmins their Vishnuvaite 'Three-fold Path to

¹ Lieut.-Col. Waddell's in *J.R.A.S.*, October 1914, p. 1033. Other translations are given at p. 1032.

² The Deer Park Sermon, probably the first one in the list in the Bhabra Edict (above, § 10). See the short note of Albert I. Edmunds quoted in *J.R.A.S.*, April, 1913, p. 385.

Immortality' (*Amrtapadani anusthitani*) and made it the basis of his own six-fold Path to Nirvana (the *Paramita*) and that the cardinal virtue in Buddha's original 'path' was 'worship of the gods.'¹

2. Asoka was familiar with some books of the Buddhist Scriptures. It is possible that in the Bhabra edict he gives his favourite passages; indeed, from the tenor of the edict this is probable.² The portions named do not exhaust the Scriptures known in his time, though they were not all the Pitakas of later times. There were, moreover, those portions kept in memory, or as collected treatises in writing, in form and quantity accessible to many, for the monks and nuns 'frequently to hear and meditate upon'.³ Considering that more than three centuries passed between the date of the Buddha's death and the date of the earliest edict of Asoka, one might wonder why a great deal more of the Scriptures was not known in Asoka's time than what might be inferred from a restricted interpretation of the Bhabra edict. The propriety of inferring from internal evidence the lateness of a number of passages of the *Pitakas*, indeed, of a considerable portion, if not the entirety, of the *Abhidamma* need not stand in the way of our conceding to an age earlier than Asoka's any organized effort at the formation of the Canon. The Council of Vaisali, placed by Oldenberg at 380 B.C., need not be an historical

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, October, 1914, pp. 1034, 1035, 1037. See Rhys-Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, p. 184.

² V. A. Smith, *Asoka*, p. 153, gives the Edict the title 'Asoka's Favourite Passages of Scripture.' The Edicts, of course, have no titles at all.

³ Bhabra Edict.

surprise, but a fact consistent with our knowledge of the zeal and diligence of the early Buddhists; rather the surprise would be that there should not have been a Council much nearer the Buddha's time than the Vaisalai date. This view is not antagonistic to the traditional *details* of the pre-Patna Councils being not of necessity historical. The historicity of the 'Council' of Patna should not dim the reality of earlier 'councils' any more than that the Council of Nicea should be deemed to have suggested the idea of a Council of Jerusalem, such as we read of in the Book of Acts.¹

3. There is edictal evidence² that Asoka was aware of the failure of former kings in their endeavour to make the people grow in the Law of Piety. Those early kings must have known enough of the *Dhamma* to enable them to make efforts to let their subjects hear of it and hearken to it. The *Dhamma* in Asoka's day was already 'ancient'.³

4. Of the great ideas of Buddhism, as seen in the Edicts, a few may be mentioned :—

1. The Path of Wisdom, that is, 'The Noble Eight-fold Path'. Asoka became, ten years after his coronation, a *sambodhi-prayano*, a traveller on the Road to Wisdom, a candidate for Perfection.⁴

2. Self-control, peace of mind, joyousness. 'This laying stress on joyousness is a specially Buddhist doctrine.'⁵

3. Sanctity of all life.

4. Toleration towards other faiths, with a partiality for one's own.

¹ Acts xiii. Council of Nicea, A.D. 325.

² Pillar Inscription vii.

³ Minor Rock Edict ii.

⁴ Vincent Smith's *Asoka*, p. 166, note.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 173, note (5).

5. The unreality of mere ceremonial observances.
6. Mastery over the senses.
7. The importance of meditation.
8. Exertion.¹

5. The idea of 'exertion' is conspicuous in the edicts.² 'I have exerted myself strenuously.' 'This is the fruit of exertion.' 'Let all joy be in effort.' 'Intense effort.' The thought of 'strenuous efforts' in the edicts seems to be an echo of something like what the *Dhammapada*³ says of the Buddha 'having spent six years in strenuous efforts.' Lieut. Col. Waddell⁴ seems to think that the word *padhana* (Sanskrit *pradhana*, Tamil *pirathana*) 'never means striving, exertion, contest', which is denoted by *padhāna* (with the middle *a* short), and that *padhana* denotes Buddha himself as 'the Supreme One,' or arhatship as 'The Supreme Thing'. The sense of *striving*, he reasons, was given to the word at a period later than that of primitive Buddhism and when the word 'had been abandoned as a heterodox term and the reason for its original application in India had been forgotten'.⁵ If so, the inquiry is interesting whether the use of the word 'exertion' in the edicts is an indication that long before them the idea of 'exertion' had taken the place of the primitive meaning of the word so rendered. Do the edicts, judged by this word 'exertion', represent later

¹ 'What is the Law? It is the four earnest meditations, *the four Great Efforts*, the five moral Powers, the seven kinds of Wisdom and the Noble Eightfold Path.' (One of the last sayings of Buddha. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhist Suttas* p. 63.)

² See Edicts in Smith's *Asoka*, pp. 149, 164, 175, 182.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁴ *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1914, pp. 670-3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 672-3.

Buddhism, some considerable distance from the original?¹

§13. The edicts record the missionary enterprise of Asoka.² One of the countries where the Law of Piety had gone in his day was the Island of Ceylon. This was in the days of King Tissa, who styled himself, after his great Indian contemporary, 'The Beloved of the Gods,' and who reigned in Ceylon between 250-230 B.C. We have no historical information as to the circumstances under which King Tissa of Ceylon came to hear of the title, and the guess may be hazarded that on the occasion of the arrival in Ceylon of the mission from Magadha, Asoka's representative, the royal missionary, Mahinda,³ called Tissa 'The Beloved of the Gods'. The title was then conferred on him. It is difficult to say, except as a matter of probability and counter-probability, whether or not the mission to Ceylon introduced into that island the Pitakas as we now have them. The Ceylon tradition, as preserved in the two oldest of Ceylon chronicles, places the writing of the Pitakas in Ceylon:—

'The wise monks of former days handed down by word of mouth the text of the Three Pitakas, and the commentary upon them. Seeing the destruction of men, the monks of the time assembled, and that the Faith might last long, they wrote them in books.'⁴

¹ Waddell considers the rendering 'the meditation-trance of the Supreme One' of *samadhi padhana* correct. The 'Four Great Efforts' he would render 'The Four Great Objects to be striven for to attain arhatship', *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1914, p. 672.

² Edict xlii. (fourteen Rock Edicts).

³ V. A. Smith, *Asoka*, p. 50, thinks Mahinda was Asoka's brother, not son.

⁴ *Dipavansa*, xx. 19, 20. *Mahavansa* (Turnour), p. 207.

This writing of the Pitakas is said to have taken place about twenty miles south of Kandy, in the reign of King Wattagamunu, '160 years after the Council of Patna and 330 years after the death of Gautama'.¹ The composition of the Ceylon chronicles, *Dipavansa* and the *Mahavansa*, were in the fourth century after Christ. There is no reason to suspect the veracity of the *Dipavansa* record. It represents earlier tradition. There is nothing intrinsically improbable in the supposition that Mahinda, going to Ceylon from a country where writing had been used in Buddhist records, may have had with him some written form of the Pitakas.

Mahinda could have written the texts had he so chosen . . . That he did not do so ought to throw no doubt upon the identity of the existing version of the text with what he brought to Ceylon. . . . Probability is in favour of our present text having been handed down correctly during the 160 years between Mahinda's arrival and the time when it was reduced to writing.²

Bishop Copleston holds, as the conclusion of a survey of the evidence on the subject, that 'Mahinda and those who followed him brought in their memories the main part of the text of the Three Pitakas as it was settled at the Council of Patna, that is, as we have it now.'³ If Mahinda's mission to Ceylon was in 241 B.C., it is not against reason to suppose that the sculptures with which

¹ Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 234.

² *Ibid.*, p. 235. Mrs. Rhys-Davids (*Buddhism*, p. 19) places Mahinda's mission at 241 B.C. and the writing of the *Pitakas* at about 80 B.C. Mrs. Rhys-Davids (*Buddhism*, pp. 18-21) clearly refutes the idea that the *Pitakas* originated (as distinguished from their being *written*) in Ceylon.

³ *Buddhism*, p. 327.

King Duttugemunu of Ceylon is said¹ to have adorned the Ruanwella dagoba about 60 B.C.,¹ raise the presumption that that King possessed substantially our present *Pitakas*. The Ruanwella sculptures of scenes in the life of the Buddha were not, we may safely assume, intended to afford proof of any fact or theory, and the author of the *Mahavansa*, in his reference to the sculptures, was not seeking to establish the antiquity or existence of the *Pitakas*. It is quite a casual and therefore unconscious and non-partisan testimony not lightly to be disregarded.

§14. The *Three Pitakas* or *Baskets of Tradition* are said to contain the genuine sayings of Buddha as well as discourses which are elaborations of subjects stated by him in outline. This is the Buddhist Bible, and it is in Pali judged to be a literary version of an Indo-European or Aryan dialect later than the language of the Vedas but earlier than Sanscrit.² The *Pitakas* are the *Vinaya*, *Sutta*, and the *Adhidhamma*. The *Vinaya* deals mainly with discipline and contains the oldest section of the Buddhist Scriptures, the *Patimokkha*, teaching on release from bonds of life. The *Vinaya* also contains biographical particulars of the Buddha. The second *Pitaka*, the *Sutta*, contains 'the ethical doctrines which at first constituted the whole Buddhist Law'.³ The third *Pitaka* is mainly

¹ *Mahavansa* xxx. Copleston, *Buddhism*, p. 308, reasons from the historian's embellishments, so characteristic of oriental narratives of even incontrovertible facts, that the author of the *Mahavansa* chronicle was romancing.

² Mrs. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, 12.13.10.

³ Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, p. 62.

metaphysical. It may be safely said that the very earliest portions of Buddhist teaching are in the first two *Pitakas*, though not all in them is of the same age. 'In the Canon or Three Pitakas we have no *literary* production composed far away, in space and time, from the centre of the movement of which it tells, but an accretion of works, compiled, as the geologist would say, *in situ*, and at different dates, and at different centres, with variations not in doctrine, but in degrees of emphasis on this and that doctrine.'¹ 'The belief that the whole of the *Pitakas* was spoken by the Buddha is quite unfounded.'² In the present state of knowledge of all extant Pali texts³ it is considered that decisive verdicts cannot be very confidently given. Yet the following opinion of Lieut.-Col. Waddell deserves consideration at the hands of those whose knowledge of Pali entitles them to give judgment :—

To students of Buddhism and Comparative Religion desirous of knowing Buddha's own views and teaching from his own words, it is extremely disconcerting to find that the Pali Canon can no longer be regarded as the actual 'Word' and Doctrine of Buddha himself. It has been conclusively established by the researches of Kern, Minayef, Senart, Feer, Poussin, Lefman, Winternitz, R.O. Franke, and others (including the writer)* that the Pali Canon is a mosaic of material belonging to different ages

¹ Mrs. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 21. (See p. 41).

² *Ibid.*, p. 225. See *Dialogues of the Buddha*, p. 207.

³ The publications of the Pali Text Society and the German Pali Society, and the volumes in the *Sacred Books of the East*, and the *Sacred Books of the Buddhists* series and the *Harvard Oriental Series* do not exhaust the Pali texts.

* 'Evolution of the Buddhist Culture' in *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1912, pp. 140, 158, and 'Buddha's Diadem' in *Ostasiatischen Zeitschrift*, ii. 1914.

and stages in the development of Buddhism ; and that the words and theories put into the mouth of Buddha therein are largely the compositions of monks who lived several centuries after Buddha's death, and considerably later than was estimated by Professor H. Oldenberg.¹ Embedded thus in this mass of heterogeneous material, with no outstanding distinctive marks, it seems almost hopeless to confidently detect and dig out therefrom the pieces containing unequivocally the true Buddha-Word. . . . Such a searching exploration and sifting cannot be delayed if we would know Buddha's own Buddhism.²

In assessing the genuineness of the pure Buddha-Word, the first-hand sayings, the edicts of Asoka are not a negligible factor. Asoka had knowledge of the Buddha-Word, what was assuredly reputed in his day as such. '*Whatever has been said by the Venerable Buddha, all of that has been well said.*'³

§ 15. The *Pitakas*, of course, do not exhaust Buddhist literature. There are many commentaries, the chiefest of them being those of Buddhaghosha, a celebrated monk who visited Ceylon about A.D. 430. It was about fifty years after his visit that the great Ceylon chronicle, the *Mahavansa*, was compiled.⁴ The literary activities of the learned Buddhaghosha in Ceylon mark an epoch in the history of Buddhism.⁵ Over 400 years before

¹ *Maha Vagga*, Introduction, xv.

² *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1914, p. 661. The writer in the course of the article holds that the *Maha-Padhana Suttanta* (in the second *Pitaka*) is 'probably, in its original form, the first book of Buddha's discourses compiled by the primitive Buddhist monks during the lifetime of Buddha or soon after his death.'

³ Bhabra Edict.

⁴ T. W. Rhys-Davids, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. iv, p. 742.

⁵ Copleston, *Buddhism*, p. 27.

his time, in the reign of Kanishka,¹ there was a great schism² in the Buddhist Church, and a form of Buddhism called *Mahayana* ('The Great Vehicle') was the result. Its adherents relegated the earlier Buddhism to a secondary place, and named it *Hinayana* ('The Lesser Vehicle'). A little known Tibetan 'Middle Vehicle' called *Madhyamayana* is mentioned by some writers.³ Mahayana Buddhism spread in Tibet, Mongolia, Korea, China and Japan, and is the form of Buddhism in those countries at the present day. In Ceylon and Siam the older and earlier Buddhism, in its purest form, is found. Ceylon Buddhism is sometimes known as Southern Buddhism to distinguish it from the later, Northern. The Mahayanists, while accepting the bulk of Buddhist teaching as preserved in the Pali Canon of Southern Buddhism, have their own special literature. Asvaghosha, 'contemporary and spiritual adviser of Kanishka in the first century of our era,'⁴ contributed the first great book to Mahayana literature. It was the *Buddha-Karita*, a Sanscrit poem giving a history of the Buddha. In the fifth century after Christ it was first translated into Chinese, and in China and Japan it is the chief source of information for the life of the Buddha. The last verse of the

¹ About A.D. 10. See on date of Kanishka, *J.R.A.S.*, October, 1914, p. 987; April, 1914, p. 367; April, 1915, p. 191; July, 1913, p. 627; October, 1913, p. 911; April, 1913, p. 369.

² Harkmann, *Buddhism as a Religion*, p. 45. The book gives a short account of modern Buddhism in the various Buddhist countries of the world.

³ Monier-Williams *Buddhism*, p. 159.

⁴ Cowell, *S.B.E.*, xlix., Introduction.

last book, the seventeenth, of the *Karita*, thus concludes :—

Whatever virtue I may have acquired from describing the King of the Law, the Deliverer from mundane existence who assumes all forms—may it become a store of merit for the productions of right activity and inactivity in others, and for the diffusion of delight among the six orders of beings.

The other principal works of the Mahayana school are :—

The Larger Sukhavati-Vyuha,
The Smaller Sukhavati-Vyuha,
The Vagrakkhedika,
The Larger Pragna-Paramita-Hridaya-Sutra,
The Smaller P. P. H. Sutra, and
The Amitayur-Dhyana-Sutra.¹

Mahayana Buddhism though fundamentally Buddhist is more than tinged with theistic conceptions, so much so indeed that it has been thought by some that Mahayanism is Buddhism as influenced by Christianity.²

§ 16. The literature of Buddhism attests a lofty morality. The earliest historical record of the influence of Buddhism upon a single man is that of the edicts of Asoka. He testifies to the converting power of Buddhist teaching in his experience. The result was his widespread proclamation within and without of his dominions of the virtues of kindness to all living beings, compassion, truthfulness, toleration,

¹ Translated into English in *S.B.E.*, xlix, Part ii.

² See Dr. Richard's *New Testament of Higher Buddhism*. Cf. E. A. Gordon's *Messiah*. The alleged relationship between Mahayana Buddhism and Christianity is criticised by Dr. W. St. Clair Tisdall in *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, vol. xliii, p. 253. See *Buddhist and Christian Gospels* by Edmunds and Anesahi, 2 vols.

piety, and purity.¹ Buddhist morality is the first Buddhist doctrine. The Buddha's Noble (Aryan) Eightfold Path may be taken as the earliest official summary of his ethical teaching, if indeed not in his very words : ²

Now this is the Noble Truth as to the way that leads to the passing away of pain. Verily it is this Aryan Eightfold Path, that is to say, Right Views, Right Aspirations, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, Right Rapture. . . . This is the Middle Path discovered by the Tathagata,³ a path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace, to insight, to the higher wisdom, to Nirvana.⁴

Taken generally, in their surface sense and English implications, and apart from their setting, these eight steps of the Path may well be considered catholic in their commendability. Such an impression is erroneous.

1. The Path is the last of the Four Truths. The other three are—

- (i) *All is sorrow and suffering, life, birth, growth, decay, death.*
- (ii) *Desire, thirst, attachment, grasping, are the causes of sorrow.*⁵
- (iii) *Mastery over the thirst of life is the cessation of sorrow.*

2. The Path begins with Right Views, that is, right views from the Buddhistic point of view. This is the *Quicunque vult* of Buddhism. Whosoever will be saved, before all

¹ See above, p. 331.

² *Sanyutta*, v. 421. *Vinaya*, i. 10, Rhys-Davids, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. iv, p. 742. Rhys-Davids, *Early Buddhism*, p. 49.

³ The Buddha called himself so.

⁴ Professor Rhys-Davids' Translation. See his *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 144.

⁵ Buddhism does not teach the suppression of *all* desire. It inculcates *right* desires.

things it is necessary that he holds *right views*. There must be an *intellectual* grasp of the teaching on Pain, Impermanence, Non-Individuality. The Law of Causation¹ must be apprehended rightly.

It is only if we consider the Four Truths and the Twelve Causes as being generally represented by the formula, *Anicca vata sankhara*² that we shall find it true to say that the moral system rests on a metaphysical foundation.³ We must so consider.

3. Rightness in the Eightfold Path is Buddhistic rightness not only as to views, but throughout. 'Right Rapture' is the practice of Samadhi, a practice taken over from Brahmanism and modified. 'Right livelihood' is, in its highest aspect, to live upon the alms of the faithful.⁴

4. Right Effort, again, is concerned with the destruction of demerit and the acquisition of new merit.⁵ 'Right desires' include a resolution to leave the world.

The righteousness, therefore, of the Noble Eightfold Path is a righteousness in an essentially Buddhist environment. It may not be dissociated from its setting. It has, under the circumstances, no claim to kinship with anything seemingly similar to it in faiths other than Buddhism. In an atmosphere of Buddhist metaphysics, in the midst of its Brahmanic heritage, the Path is rightly to be appraised:

Best of Paths in the Eightfold. The four Truths are the best of truths. Purity (Nirvana) is the best state. Best of men is the man of insight. All is passing, . . . all is sorrow, . . . all is unreal, . . . When one sees and

¹ See above, p. 301.

² 'Component things are impermanent.'

³ Copleston, *Buddhism*, p. 129.

⁴ K. J. Saunders, *Way of Virtue*, p. 63.

⁵ Copleston, *Buddhism*, p. 131, quoting S. Vayame Angut.

realizes this he sits loose to this world of sorrow. This is the way of Purity (Nirvana).¹

Apart from any question as to the correctness or incorrectness of the doctrine of the Eightfold Path, and independently of the extent of the non-Buddhist's agreement, or disagreement, with the implications of the doctrine, one cannot be blind to the loftiness of the ethics of the Buddha. We cannot lose sight of the fact that the basic principle of Buddhist morality is a sheer disgust of life. 'Hunger is the greatest ill : existence is the greatest sorrow.'² The connection of this doctrine with practical morality is an ever-present factor in any consideration of Buddhist ethics. Yet, it need not induce the conclusion that Buddhist Morality is immoral or non-moral, any more than Christian morality is to be condemned on the sole ground that many Christians keep the rules of Christian conduct out of fear of a hell or hope of a heaven rather than out of pure love of God for His own sake.³ The most generous appraisal of the ideals of Buddhism cannot narrow down the differences between them and those of Christianity, and even if I were not writing as a Christian, and with, therefore, some appreciable amount of Christian bias, I think I should be justified in considering Paul Carus wrong when he states :

¹ *Dhammapada*, 273, 277, 278, 279. The book was 'accepted at the Council of Asoka in 240 B.C. as a collection of the sayings of Gautama.' (K. J. Saunders, *Way of Virtue*, p. 9.)

² *Dhammapada*, 203.

³ Said a Mahomedan saint : 'God, if I worship Thee in fear of Hell, burn me in Hell ; and if I worship Thee in hope of Paradise, exclude me from Paradise ; but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake withhold not Thine everlasting beauty.' (*Mystics of Islam*, p. 115.)

It is a remarkable fact that the two greatest religions of the world, Christianity and Buddhism, present so many striking *coincidences in their philosophical basis as well as in the ethical application of their faith*, while their modes of systematizing their dogmas are radically different. . . . All the essential moral truths of Christianity are in our opinion deeply rooted in the nature of things, and do not, as is often assumed, stand in contradistinction to *the cosmic order of the world*. . . . Buddha bases his religion solely upon man's knowledge of *the nature of things, upon provable truth*.¹

§17. From the lofty heights of the Noble Eight-fold Path, we descend to the plains of the religion of the common people, and find there, for their following, a morality dissociated, in its practicability, from the philosophic fundamentals, a grasp of which is essential to those striving to climb the steep heights of the Path.

Mr. D. B. Jayatilleke, a very learned Sinhalese Buddhist, provoked² by a tactless Christian missionary,³ to associate himself with *The Credentials of Christianity*,⁴ an anonymuos anti-Christian book marked by crudities of criticism, glaring misquotations, obsolete second-hand scepticism and the exploded learning of an out-of-date infidelity,⁵ very properly remarks in the best part of that book, his Introduction, as follows on Buddhist teaching :

¹ *The Gospel of Buddha*, Preface, viii, ix. Italics mine. On the Buddhist and the Christian ideals see A. H. Small's *Buddhism*, p. 93, and K. J. Saunders's *Buddhist Ideals*, ch. i-v.

² Buddhism teaches that no religion is to be attacked.

³ The Rev. Stanley Bishop, *Gautama or Jesus ?*

⁴ Published by the Y. M. B. A., Colombo, 1909.

⁵ See Fraser and Saunders's reply published by C.L.S. under the title 'Some Credentials of Christianity,' especially Section i ; also Appendices i, ii.

No one who has studied Buddhism will venture to suggest that it is altogether too philosophical and therefore beyond the reach of ordinary intelligence. Nothing is further from the truth. That part of the Dharma which refers to duties of life is of the simplest kind. In the well-known words of the Master himself :—

To abstain from all evil,
To practise that which is good,
To cleanse one's own mind,—
This is the teaching of the Buddhas.

. . . That sums up the whole doctrine of Buddhism, and includes within its compass the whole range of morality. . . There is of course philosophy behind it, deep and true ; otherwise it were valueless as a rule of life.¹

He rightly admits that at the back of so much simplicity of ethics in summary there is deep philosophy. The philosophy is for the few. For the many is the lower path, winding in the plains of the commonplace through daily task and routine, in the call of the Buddhas that have been,

To abstain from all evil,
To practise that which is good,
To cleanse one's own mind,—

though, in the context and setting of the words in the mosaic of the *Dhammapada*, whence the words are taken, ' evil, ' and ' good ' and ' cleansing of the mind ' may not be emptied of their Buddhist contents. It is a large question, entailing controversy, as to how far ideas in their Buddhist context can lay claim to catholicity of application. For the Buddhist laity the five moral precepts are known as the *Panca Sila* (in Sinhalese, *Pansil*):—

Thou shalt not kill.
Thou shalt not steal.

¹ P. xii. The four lines are from *Dhammapada*, 183.

Thou shalt not tell an untruth.

Thou shalt not drink strong drinks.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.¹

These precepts were taken over from Brahmanism, and their analogues are of even higher antiquity. It is not, however, the bare preceptual prohibitions that command obedience. There is implied under each precept much more than what the words on the surface show. Under the third precept, in the order here given, there is, for instance, dissuasion from slander and all uncharitable talk and a positive inducement to words of kindness and those which tend to edification.² The above Five Precepts with three more form the Eightfold Fast of the lay disciple, the other three prohibiting gluttony, vanity of apparel, and luxury.³

All men, however, must be saved, laymen and monks, and the way of effectual salvation is the excellent way of the Noble Eightfold Path, to walk in which one must fight the Five Hindrances, break the Ten Bonds and free himself from the Four Intoxications. Now the Five Hindrances, are—

Sensuality,

Ill-will,

¹ This is not literal. Bishop Copleston (*Buddhism*, p. 183) thinks that 'the Five Precepts did not as such form part of Gautama's original proclamation'. The order adopted here is that in *Dhammika Sutta*, verse 25.

² Cf. St. James, i, 26 'If any man say he is religious and bridleth not his tongue, that man's religion is vain.'

³ Luxury is as to sleep. 'One should sleep on a mat spread on the ground'. (Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 139). Mr. Jayatilleke (*op. cit.* xiii) points out that the direction to laymen (on days of devotion) and monks (always) to avoid luxurious beds has no reference to 'mats spread on the ground'.

Torpor of mind or body,
Worry, and
Wavering.

The Ten Bonds are—

Delusions about the soul,
Doubt,
Dependence on works,
Sensuality,
Ill-will,
Desire for re-birth on earth,
Desire for re-birth in heaven,
Pride,
Self-righteousness, and
Ignorance.

The Four Intoxications are—

Mental infatuation from sensual pleasures,
Mental infatuation from the pride of life,
Mental infatuation from ignorance, and
Infatuation from speculation.¹

And then when the battle has been fought, and
‘freedom won, that last stage of the long journey is
reached, where, being in Right Rapture, the ‘saved’
ones look from their lofty heights of peace upon the
care-worn crowds of the toilers of the plains, and
are able to say :

It is in very bliss we dwell, we who hate not them
who hate us ;

Among men full of hate, we continue void of hate ;

It is in very bliss we dwell, we in health among the
ailing ;

Among men weary and sick, we continue well.

It is in very bliss we dwell, free from care among the
care-worn,

Among men full of worries, we continue calm.

¹ These lists are from Rhys-Davids, *Early Buddhism*, pp. 63,
66, 67, 68.

It is in very bliss we dwell, we who have no hindrance ;

We will become feeders on joy, like the gods in their shining splendour.¹

§ 18. It has been observed² that there is not in the Buddhist books any list of virtues while there are catalogues of vices. Even if this were a drawback, we must note the prominence given in Buddhist teaching to love, loving-kindness to all living beings, tender compassion, filial piety, reverence for age, regard for teachers, self-control, purity, truthfulness, toleration, patience, gentleness and other qualities, many of which had been known and taught in Buddhist circles long before Asoka. The basic principle of character as resting on *inwardness* is discoverable as a Buddhist fundamental in terms almost as those of Christ—' Out of the heart proceed . . . ' ³ The mind, teaches the Buddhist, is the source of good and evil. ' Sensuality and ill-will arise from self ; non-attachment (to what is good), and attachment (to what is evil) and mental excitement are born of self.' ⁴

Good it is to tame the mind, so difficult to control, fickle and capricious. Blessed is the tamed mind.⁵ Mind it is which gives to things their quality, their foundation and their being.⁶

¹ *Dhammapada*, 197-200 translated by Rhys-Davids, *Early Buddhism*, p. 64. Max Müller's prose rendering forms part of his introduction (p. cxv) to Rogers' *Buddhaghosha's Parables*.

² Copleston, *Buddhism*, p. 159.

³ St. Matthew xv. 19.

⁴ *Sutta-Nipata*, ii. 5. Mr. D. B. Jayatilleke points out (*Op. cit.* Introduction, xiii) that the rendering ' All evil passions proceed from the body ' is erroneous, and relies on Buddhaghosha's commentary.

⁵ *Dhammapada*, 35

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

Self-conquest is better than all victories.¹

Evil is the undisciplined mind.²

Guard against evil thoughts, control the mind.³

This is a great fundamental—the mind-source of a man's destiny. Let us give here a few wise sayings illustrative of Buddhist ethical ideas generally:—

1. Put away anger, eschew self-will, conquer every bond.⁴

2. Speak the truth, be not angry, give of thy poverty to the suppliant.⁵

3. The wise controlled in act, in word, in thought, are well-controlled indeed.⁶

4. There is no fire like lust, no ravenous beast like hatred, no snare like folly, no flood like desire.⁷

5. A man is not wise by much speaking. He is called wise who is forgiving, kindly and fearless.⁸

6.. Follow after virtue.⁹

7. He who conquers self is the greatest warrior.¹⁰

8. Live ye freed from lasciviousness . . . not lamenting, fretting, deceiving, without hypocrisy, greediness, malice, harshness and rusting ignorance.¹¹

9. Anger, drunkenness, obstinacy, bigotry, deception, envy, self-praise, disparaging others, high-mindedness, evil communications, these constitute uncleanness; not verily the eating of flesh.¹²

10. Sloth is defilement; to be ever heedless is defilement.¹³

11. The treasure laid up by man or woman through charity, piety, temperance, self-control . . . is secure.¹⁴

12. Let every one cultivate a friendly mind towards all beings, goodwill towards all the world.¹⁵

¹ *Dhammapada*, 104. Cf. Asoka's Rock Edict xiii.

² *Ibid.*, 248

³ *Ibid.*, 223.

⁴ *Dhammapada*, 221.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 224.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 234.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 251.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 258.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 169.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹¹ *Kinsila Sutta*, 5.

¹² *Amagandha Sutta*, 7.

¹³ *Uthana Sutta*, i. 4.

¹⁴ *Nidhikanda, Sutta*.

¹⁵ *Sutta Nipata* i. 8.

13. Giving is twofold, the giving of food and the giving of doctrine. Of these the better is the giving of doctrine.¹

14. He who cultivates loving-kindness in his heart, without enmity, and without malice, and by destruction of the corruptions attains even in this life . . . corruptionless emancipation of the mind.²

15. Of all things that have shape or life there is not one that he passes by or leaves aside, but regards them all with mind set free and deep-felt love.³

The Buddha, breaking away from some tendencies of the faith of his early Brahmanistic upbringing, and transmuting to high uses some great truths of that ancient creed, resolved on the daring experiment of salvation by individual effort. He dissociated himself from revelation and the claims to declare revealed truths. He maintained a unique silence, as studied as singular, upon matters not cognizable by instinct, intuition and reason. He taught noble truths, he taught them out of the depths of his experience, and he taught that all good, including the Highest, was to be attained for each man by each man's own, unaided effort. Morality is the outcome of effort. Salvation is the goal of effort. Buddhism, in a sense, is the religion of sustained strenuousness. 'Strive', said the Buddha, 'strive unceasingly.'⁴ 'Strive', said his great disciple, Asoka, in his sermons in stones, 'strive, with strenuous effort.'⁵ Gulfs of time and gulfs of thought separate the Buddha from the Christ, who too said, 'Strive,'⁶ and, after Him,

¹ *Angut.* ii. 13. 1.

² *Digha Nikaya*, viii. 16.

³ *Tevijja Sutta*, iii. 1.

⁴ Cf. the Buddha's last words, p. 314, above.

⁵ *Edicts*, see above, p. 332.

⁶ St. Luke xiii. 24.

His greatest Apostle said, 'Strive.'¹ The Buddha taught that the striving has to be unaided and of one's own effort. The Christian believes that sufficient grace is given and that God is a co-striver with man.² The view-points are different. Nevertheless, salvation is not by dogma. Belief translated into conduct—'inasmuch as ye have done . . . inasmuch as ye have not done '³—is the standard of final adjustment. Who can say, if one may think so without intending any offence, that the gentle Gautama Buddha, honestly and nobly striving for freedom, found not at last, despite his philosophy, in the ampler ether of liberation, the surprise of the reward of all true seekers—God?

¹ Phil. ii. 12.

² 2 Cor. xii. 9 ; Phil. iii. 13

³ St. Matthew xxv. 40, 45.

CHAPTER XII

TORCH-BEARERS

§ 1. Hinduism, that is, as unreformed by Buddha, was not a missionary faith. Its spread was an incident of contiguity of races, assimilation of ideas and hereditary leanings in families and tribes. It had no organized missionary agency prior to the days of Asoka, and even then it was *not* as Hinduism but as reformed Brahmanism, more commonly known as Buddhism,¹ that the disciples of the Buddha before Asoka, and Asoka's missionaries after the Buddha, went about preaching the Law, the *Dhamma*. There was a time when a Hindu could have protested against missions on principle, but since the days of Vedantist propaganda in Europe and America, he must be taken to be in agreement with the view of freedom for all to preach their faith to others. Missionary enterprise is as free now as free trade. Is it lawful for Christians to seek to make Christians of Hindus, adherents of Brahmanism and Buddhism? May those who believe they have the full Light, after all the foregleams, be torch-bearers of the Truth to all the world? On the ground of freedom for all, Buddhists, Hindus and Christians, the answer must be in the affirmative.

§ 2. There is a higher reason. It is based on honesty of conviction that a position is right and

¹ Buddha did not give his doctrines the name 'Buddhism', nor did his disciples, nor does the name occur in the edicts.

that information of it is likely to be of service to mankind. This is seen in the history of Asoka's missions. He was so convinced of the error of old ways, of the rightness of the Buddha's teaching, and of the personal beneficial experience in his own case, that he felt constrained to make known to all the world the good of the Law of Piety as preached by the Buddha.¹ After the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ the Apostles upon conviction, by many infallible proofs, of the rightness of the possibility of salvation in the Name, began to preach the Gospel to Jews and Gentiles, and missionaries carried the message of the Gospel to the uttermost parts of the earth.² Similarly the Vedantist Hindus, in sending out preachers from the East to evangelize the West, act upon the principle of honesty of conviction in the rightness of their position as holders and keepers of saving truths.

§ 3. The Christian justification of missions to Hindus and Buddhists is not merely based upon an honest conviction of the all-sufficiency of the Gospel of Christ to save men, but it takes into account the idea of progressiveness in revelation, and development in saving methods.³ The Christian claims that Christianity is the religion that has the merit of universal adaptability. On the assumption that this claim is good, the attempt to make disciples of all men is considered a duty. Briefly, in justification of Christian missions to the lands of

¹ See above, p. 327.

² Acts i. 8.

³ See above, ch. i, § 3.

the Brahmanic and the Buddhist faiths, the Christian urges :—

1. Christ's express words, 'Go ye unto all the world and make disciples of all men.'¹ To the missionary this is not only sufficient, but it entails an obligation he may not disregard.

2. The Christian belief that the Gospel of Christ is the crown of the world's religious aspirations from the earliest ages.²

3. The Christian belief that Jesus Christ is the ultimate revelation of God to man.³

4. The Gospel of Christ is the apex of the evolution of religions.

5. The Gospel of Christ is unique in its universal adaptability.

§ 4. It is best to judge by fruits. In this part of the study of missions it is not intended to take a statistical survey of the Hindu and Buddhist lands, and deduce anything from conversions to Christianity. *What has been the influence, if any, of Buddhism upon Christianity, of Hinduism upon Christianity? How, if in any manner, has Christianity affected Hinduism and Buddhism?* Answers to these questions are, I venture to think, of more value in the present context than statistical tabulations of conversions, though it is not thereby implied that such statistics are of no value.

¹ St. Matthew xxviii. 19. In spite of the strong attestation of manuscripts, Versions and Fathers this verse has, doubts have been thrown on it on non-textual grounds, e.g. by Conybeare in the *Hibbert Journal*, 1902, p. 102. The unreasonableness of opposition to the text is effectively shown by Bishop Chase in *J.T.S.*, 1906, p. 481.

² See above, ch. i, § 4. *Barrows Lectures*, 1896-7, Lecture, iii. and 1902, Lecture vi. See Farquhar's *Crown of Hinduism*, and Bouquet's *Is Christianity the Final Religion?* Ch. iv. viii.

³ Heb. i. 1. *Barrows Lectures*, 1902-3, Lecture, iii.

They furnish a formidable answer to such a question as, *Are Indian Missions a Failure?*¹

§ 5. Has Hinduism or Buddhism, numerically five times and three times respectively stronger than Christianity, affected it? I have not come across any printed statement of the influence of either Hinduism or Buddhism on Christianity as to the formation or formulation of Christian fundamentals. There have been, however, suggestions of contact and indebtedness. Borrowings by later from earlier religions have been reasoned from such notions as *avatar* and *incarnation*,² *trimurti* and *trinity*,³ and *faith*, *hope*, *love*.⁴ The matter of Buddhist and Christian parallels is to some extent one of mere verbal resemblances, a very unsure foundation upon which to build any argument of indebtedness. The argument from similarities has, in recent years, been unduly pressed to the point of identifying the

¹ Dr. Josiah Oldfield in the *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1903. Dr. Miller's reply appeared in the *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1903.

² See above, pp. 183-186.

³ *Encyclopædia Indica*, p. 363.

⁴ The place of the Christian Trinity and the Buddhist Triratna amongst Holy Triads' is the title of a paper read by Dr. N. Soderblom of Upsala before the Third International Congress for Religions. Its thesis is (*Transactions*, ii. 391): (1) The triads most frequently compared to the Christian Trinity confuse the question of its origin and of its sense rather than elucidate them; (2) the only illustrative and perfect analogy furnished by the history of religion is the Buddhist triad of Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha (Buddha, Law, Church); (3) and these two Trinities belong to a very distinct group of non-polytheistic triads, necessarily connected with historical, i.e., founded religion, but clearly formulated in only these—the two most important religions of the world. See Prof. Keith's *Trimurti* in *E.R.E.*, xii. 457. See *C.Q.R.*, October 1922, p. 75.

⁴ These three terms in Buddhism have not the same spiritual contents as they have in the New Testament. See Saunders, *Buddhist Ideals*, pp. 46, 50, 59, 78.

Mahayana form of Buddhism with Christianity.¹ The identification has been refuted from two different points of view.² It is curious that there have been found in the Mahayana, with the same sureness of conviction that Dr. Richards has for his views, traces of the influence of Saivism.³ Christian borrowings are asserted in Joseph McCabe's *Sources of Gospel Morality*, a work more misleading than the table of parallelisms in Paul Carus's *Gospel of Buddha*. Stone's *Christianity before Christ* is an immature presentation of some results of the comparative study of religions. Its subtitle, 'Prototypes of our Faith and culture' is harmless. The same cannot be said of Lillie's *India in Primitive Christianity*, 'the subject of which is the question of the influence of Buddhism on primitive Christianity?'⁴

A work that stands aloof from Lillie's in point particularly of its non-polemical manner which disarms criticism and even prejudice, however unconvincing and inconclusive its thesis may be, is *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*⁵ by Prof. A. J.

¹ Richards, *New Testament of Higher Buddhism*.

² R. F. Johnston in *The Quest*, October, 1912, p. 137. St. Clair Tisdall in *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, vol. xlvii, p. 253.

³ Lillie, *India in Primitive Christianity*, p. 107.

⁴ Introduction, p. 5. A Tibetan sojourn of Christ for eighteen years was first formulated by a Russian in his *Unknown Life of Christ* (1894), and his theories, in spite of the exposure of the forgery in the *Nineteenth Century*. October, 1894, and April, 1896, are persisted in by educated Hindus, e.g., by so learned a man, as Sir P. Ramanathan, K.C., in his *Commentary on St. Matthew*. Dean Inge (*Christian Mysticism*, third edition, p. 112) quotes Ramanathan's *Mystery of Godliness* with merited approval, and the Rev. H. A. Popley in his *Tamil Commentary on S. John* makes frequent, though not always discriminative, references to Ramanathan's *Exposition of S. John*.

⁵ In two volumes of over 600 pages and now in its fourth edition.

Edmunds of the University of Pennsylvania and Prof. Masaharu Anesaki of the Imperial University of Tokio. In its small beginnings in 1900 (about the time of the publication in Boston of C. F. Aitken's *The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ*) it bore the title, *Gospel Parallels from Pali Texts*. Mr. Edmunds claims to write as a Christian and alleges 'no borrowings on either side in these parallels . . . which are parallels mainly in ideas, not in words.'¹ The Historical Introduction² deals learnedly and at some length with New Testament matter, although it is to be regretted that the decision to reject the historicity of the Infancy sections in the Christian Gospels is endorsed mainly by one English book.³ Attention should here be drawn to the two very scholarly and informative papers contributed by the late Mr. J. Kennedy to the *Journal*⁴ of the *Royal Asiatic Society* on 'the Gospels of the Infancy, the *Lalita Vistara* and the *Vishnu Purana*.' The writer has had recourse to richer probative material than was, perhaps, available to Prof. Edmunds. Dr. Keningale Cook's *The Fathers of Jesus*⁵ is intended to be 'a study of the lineage of the Christian doctrine and traditions.' Its two sections entitled 'An Aryan Ancestor' and 'Primitive

¹ Vol i, p. 33.

² Vol. i, pp. 58-164.

³ Dr. Percy Gardner's *Exploratio Evangelica*, published in 1899. Reliance is probably placed on chapter xix. Since 1899, however, much has been brought to light about the Census in *S. Luke* and a deal of substantial learning focussed on the Infancy narratives defensively.

⁴ For 1917, pp. 243, 469.

⁵ Published in 1886 in two volumes.

Buddhism¹ refer, in not very detailed terms, to alleged affinities of Christianity to Zoroastrianism and Buddhism respectively. In contrast to Dr. Cook's work may be named Dr. Legge's *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, both volumes of which are devoted to a study of Gnostic creeds that were in competition with Christianity in the early days of the Church. Dr. Legge's treatise which is abreast of recent research is a valuable contribution to the comparative study of religions and origins.

§ 6. Let us next see if Christianity has in any way influenced Hinduism or Buddhism. Evidence of such influence is evidence of the fruits of Christianity noticeable enough to justify Christian missions and encourage Christian enterprise.

Popular Hinduism, the religion of the masses, has not been affected by Christianity. In South India, as in North Ceylon, to the people the popular religion and piety are inseparable from the temple, the shrines, the images, the cars, the processions, the penances, the pilgrimages, exactly as in the days of their forefathers. They are not learned. The only appeal the literature of their religion makes to them is to their sense of devotion. They are virtually in the same scale of religious intelligence as the average Roman Catholic. The temples yearly increase in number and importance. The charm of the holy places has not ceased. The pomp and pageantry of popular worship remains full of its old attractiveness. The question, however, of converts

¹ *The Fathers of Jesus*, i, pp. 53, 108.

from popular Hinduism to Christianity is here left out of account.

To see how and in what manner Hinduism has been influenced by Christianity we must pass over the popular to the philosophical form of it. It is best at once to dismiss, without discussion, the question of Christian influence of Hinduism in past ages. It is a debatable point. Besides, all the most marked evidences of influence, not so much on the externals as on the inner spirit of the Hindu religion, are confined to quite modern times.¹ The terms 'Higher Hinduism' and 'Philosophic Hinduism' denote that form of the religion which has suffered the impact of Christianity to an assessable degree. It is Neo-Hinduism :

Corresponding in the main to the higher paganism in the Roman Empire it is cultured and eclectic. It is the liberal spirit of a conservative people suddenly awakened by the rustle of the breeze which precedes the dawn. It is Christian in expression and Hindu at heart.²

This is a general statement. It is well to amplify it, showing in what ways the old faith has broken out into new forms of expression adapting itself to the conditions created by Christianity.

1. *Traditional tenets have been abandoned*

§ 7. It is left to the adherents of popular Hinduism to follow the practices of making offerings to many gods, propitiation of angered divinities, and blood-shedding. Neo-Hinduism is ashamed of it all. It is everywhere taught that poly-

¹ The Rev. E. S. Oakley, *The East and the West*, January, 1907, p. 54.

² J. Kennedy in *The East and the West*, April, 1905, p. 170.

theism is degrading. This is one of the effects of Christian criticism.¹ In regard to worship offered to idols it is pleaded that it is for the spiritual encouragement of those who are in the least advanced stages of religion, or that idolatry has a deep mystical significance.² The old theories, says the Neo-Hindu, are all superstitious, but there are nuggets of truth hidden in them.³

2. *Allegorizing is an Apologetic Method*

As in Neo-Platonism, so in Neo-Hinduism, allegory is invoked to explain away inconvenient mythologies.⁴ The consciousness that there are facts which call for explanation is due to Christian influence. The allegorical method long known to Indians and generally to all Orientals came to be popularized as an apologetic with the many-sided activities of the Theosophical movement. The entire fabric of Hinduism, it is urged, is reared upon an allegoric foundation.⁵ 'The most pitiful allegorizations are put forward as defences of the mythology. In every case the apologetic confesses in form, if not in words, that it is the Christian spirit which has to be faced.'⁶ For example, it is a tribute to the exalted purity of Christianity that forces the modern Hindu to construe the revolting myth of Krishna's dalliance with 16,000 milkmaids

¹ Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements*, p. 435.

² S. P. Aiyangar, *Rationale of Holy Image Worship*.

³ Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements*, p. 438.

⁴ Professor Rudra, *The East and the West*, July, 1913, p. 301.

⁵ *Esoteric Hinduism*, quoted in *The East and the West*, April, 1905, p. 163.

⁶ Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements*, p. 435.

as signifying the Divine spirit inspiring the verses of the Vedas.¹ The *Lingam* has ceased to be a phallic symbol, and has become the *pranaya* as figured to the eye.² The fierce fight between Siva or Rudra and the giants and demons means that God alone can kill lust and ignorance.³ Every modern book on Hinduism resorts to allegorizing.⁴ Not content with employing the allegorical method to interpret to the Christianized conscience of the world myths and legends, but for such interpretation puerile or impure, Hindus have attempted to allegorize Gospel facts.⁵

3. *Great Christian Truths are assimilated*

In the Parliament of Religions Swami Vivekananda spoke, almost with patronage, of Jesus Christ as a Son of God. In New York a disciple of his publicly declared that according to Hinduism our Lord is indeed 'the Son of God'.⁶ Among various modern Hindu sects, or more correctly, offshoots of Hinduism, the importance ascribed to the person of Christ is Christian in its unqualified character—Jesus is the Son of God.⁷ The expectation of a *Guru* or teacher, the righteous one, the

¹ J. Kennedy in *The East and the West*, April, 1905, p. 164.

² Nallaswami, *Siddhanta Studies*, p. 126.

³ *Ibid.*, *Siddhiyar*, p. 145.

⁴ See Pal's *Siva and Sakti*, pp. 33, 36, 41, 57, 76, 82.

⁵ Most noted of such attempts are Sir P. Ramanathan's Commentaries on St. Matthew and St. John. See Tambyah's *What Think Ye of Christ?* pp. 14-18, for examples; see also a note on Ramanathan's interpretative methods in the *London Quarterly Review*, October, 1907, p. 288.

⁶ See Tambyah's *What Think Ye of Christ?* pp. 3-4.

⁷ Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements*, pp. 439-40.

perfect—of God Himself coming amongst men as such a *Guru*—is an outstanding feature in the literature of Hinduism.¹ A very learned Hindu writer's comment on this belief in God becoming the *Guru* is significant both for its language and its Christian colouring :—

Unless God comes down to us as the Son of man our redemption is not possible. Christianity speaks of only one revelation for all time to come, but in the *Saiva Siddhanta* God reveals Himself as Son and *Guru* to each in his own fulness of time.²

The conception of the idea of incarnation, though not of the character of the fact of 'God made flesh,' is yet lifted far above puerilities of animal *avatars*. Krishna is divested of the incidents of his various manifestations as beast of the field and is presented as a parallel to Christ.³

4. *Christian Tastes are imitated and favoured*

An experienced observer, long familiar with India, writes :—

The ferment which Christianity has created among the educated classes is apparent on the surface. It reveals itself in the habitual use of Christian expressions, the repudiations of the vulgar polytheism, and the condemnation of obscenity as unbecoming the gods. Thomas à Kempis, Epictetus and M. Aurelius are favourite authors and the Vedas are searched for parallels.⁴

The *Gita* is the substitute for the Gospels, and *The Imitation of Sri Krishna* is on the lines of the well-known classic of Christian devotion.

¹ *Siddhiyar*, 3, 8, 28.

² *Siddhanta Studies*, pp. 299, 355.

³ Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements*, p. 440.

⁴ Mr. Kennedy, I.C.S., in *The East and the West*, April, 1905, p. 152.

5. *Eschatology is modified*

No statement of the last things in Hinduism is separable from the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which is a corollary to the teaching as to Karma. In a general way it is true that the Christian teacher's heaven 'too often denotes to the Hindu only one of the many purgatorial heavens of his religion.'¹ Yet it may be said that the transmigrational details in the *Laws of Manu*,² grading embodiments according to the gravity of the sin are no longer insisted upon as ascertained facts. The pictures of seven hells as of seven heavens, like the idea of the seven oceans, are not now, with the progressiveness of Neo-Hinduism, presented for literal acceptance. Transmigration, however, is not eliminated from Hinduism. It is a constant factor. The least modification therefore of the doctrine is a strong testimony to Christian influence. After many years' work and study in North India where, unlike what is in South India, the rigidity of the law of Karma as postulated by the Vedantists leaves God powerlessly out of reckoning, the Rev. Dr. J. N. Farquhar says :—

How potent then has Christianity been in controlling the religious thought of the past century ! The doctrine has been expelled completely from the teaching of the Brahma and the Prarthana Samajis and everywhere else it has been deeply wounded. Every aspect of the social implications of the doctrine is rapidly losing its hold.

¹ Dr. Jones in *The East and the West*, April, 1904, p. 174. In his *India's Problem : Krishna or Christ* there is a popular presentation of Hindu and Christian contrasts, and of missionary influences.

² See above, p. 266.

Men revere the doctrine to-day but do not understand it. To them it is merely an explanation of the inequalities of life, but no educated Hindu is ready to follow even that line to the end.¹

In the Dravidian section of India, where the Siddhanta philosophy prevails, its teaching of the saving *arul* (grace) of a Personal God has relieved the doctrine of Karma of its Northern rigours. The Siddhanta Hindu is in a Christian atmosphere. What one has said of *arul* is typical :—

The doctrine of grace, a special feature of the Siddhanta, differs in no respect from that of the Christian doctrine.²

The same writer finds in St. John, xv. 4-6 teaching which he thinks is in accord with his religion and which dispels the gloom of the inexorable workings of Karma.³

The doctrine of the Fatherhood of God as presented by Christianity is one to which the Hindu mind is prepared to be receptive. Indeed it is nothing new to Hinduism. Hinduism is the religion of the Motherhood of God. It has been rightly said that the idea of the Fatherhood of God, long obscured to the Hindu mind, gives the Hindu a truly 'ethicized notion of God,' and hence a truly 'ethicized conception of the universe'.⁴ Such ideas must naturally affect the Hindu's views as to

¹ *Modern Religious Movements*, p. 441. See his *Karma : as a Doctrine of Life* in *The Hibbert Journal*, October 1920, p. 20.

² Nallaswami Pillai, *Siddhanta Studies*, p. 355.

³ *Siddhiyar*, pp. 250-7, where Andrew Murray is generously quoted. See present writer's *Psalms of a Salva Saint*, Introd. parts, vi. vii.

⁴ The Rev. T. Moscrop in the *London Quarterly Review*, October, 1907, p. 185.

a Father-God's attitude towards human frailty, sin and retribution.

6. *Developments have been necessitated*

'The religious life of the non-Christian world,' says the Rev. Dr. Jones of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, 'for some generations past has been marked by a spirit of unrest which has become specially pronounced in our day. This restlessness has voiced itself in dissent and protest against the prevailing religious modes . . . by attempts to syncretize the old historic faiths into eclectic systems . . . by partial reform . . . and the adoption of some Christian ethics.' ¹

This is illustrated in regard to Hinduism in a number of striking movements. It is well to note that however much each movement may assimilate Christianity it professes to be nothing less than Hindu.

(1) The Chet Ramis formed about A.D. 1867 accept the Person of Christ, the Gospel scheme of salvation, and the doctrine of the Trinity. They consider Bible reading and study necessary. ² They reverence the Cross. ³ Chet Ramism is 'an attempt to fuse Christianity with Hinduism'. ⁴

(2) The Isamoshipanthis or Jesus-Messiah-followers are a south Behar sect of Hindus. They

¹ In the *Bible Magazine*, September, 1915, p. 790.

² *Modern Religious Movements*, p. 150.

³ The Rev. N. Macnicol in *The East and the West*, July, 1907, p. 255.

⁴ Mr. Kennedy in *The East and the West*, April, 1905, p. 161.

study the Bible, accept the atoning death of Christ and the Gospel teaching.¹

(3) The Radha Swami sect founded by Tulsi Ram has for its general teaching the Gnosticism which troubled the early church. The sect holds a doctrine of the Trinity and of Messiah. 'We may see in the faith an instance of the leavening effect of Christian ideas in India. . . . It is a skilled counterfeit of the truth.'² There are Christian elements in the teaching and in the forms of worship.³

(4) *Theosophy*.—'The dissatisfaction of the educated classes in the South (of India) with their own Hindu orthodoxy has found a temporary palliative in the work and teaching of the Theosophical Society.'⁴ This has attempted to interpret orthodox Hinduism in modern terms, and to make it acceptable in its present state, caste and idolatry being retained. Of all the compromise effected between Hinduism and Christianity in India, Theosophy is the subtlest. It adopts Christian terms and phrases wholesale but in no Christian sense. Even the 'coming Christ' is expected, but he had come in the boy Alcyone of the notorious Madras case of 1912.⁵

(5) The Samajis are 'an attempt to build the religious house of rest midway between Hinduism

¹ *Modern Religious Movements*, p. 156.

² Professor Griswold in the course of a lengthy article on the sect in *The East and the West*, April, 1908, p. 193.

³ *Modern Religious Movements*, p. 172.

⁴ Professor Rudra in *The East and the West*, July, 1913, p. 306.

⁵ See Miss Ethel McNeile's *Theosophy and the Coming Christ* in *The East and the West* for April, 1913, p. 147.

and Christianity'.¹ The Brahmo Samaj is 'one of a long series of attempts to found a spiritual religion on a genuine Hindu foundation. . . . It is a new creation finding the sources of its vitality in Christian faith and practice.'² It became so much Christianized latterly as not to be Hindu at all. The Hindu position of the Arya Samaj made it more popular than the Brahmo Samaj.

7. *Christian Methods are in use*

Almost every sect of Hinduism has adopted Christian methods of work. Each has missionaries, boards, guilds, young men's associations, endeavour societies, bands of hope, Sunday schools, Scripture classes, sermons and conferences. '*The dominance of Christianity in the religious development of the last hundred years may be clearly seen in this, that almost without exception, the methods in use in the movements have been borrowed from missions. This is the more noticeable since India, in the past, had the genius to produce a series of methods of religious propaganda unmatched in the history of the world.*'³

To the present writer's personal knowledge meetings convened for religious lectures under the auspices of the 'Vivekananda Mission' have begun with chanting a portion of the Vedas and uttering an invocation. Just as Christian prize-givings in some mission schools open with Bible reading and prayers, so similar functions in Hindu colleges

¹ *Bible Magazine*, September, 1915, p. 791.

² Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements*, p. 29.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 442.

begin now with reading or recitation of sacred passages, singing of a hymn of praise and uttering a prayer.

8. *Christian influence on Social Matters*

In no respect has Christian influence been felt, acknowledged or unacknowledged, in social problems of India so markedly as in the case of women. The nautch girl, called to this day by a word meaning 'handmaiden of the Lord', was, even as recently as ten years ago, an indispensable accessory to the temple services. She was attached to the temple, and became a demoralizing factor in the lives of the worshippers. In many parts of South India to-day the nautch girl is a back number. She is not permitted to contribute to the devotions, or the distractions, of those who go to worship. A roused public opinion has dissociated the nautch girl not only from religion but also from parties, 'at homes', weddings and social functions. This is a great achievement in view of the tolerated laxity of life in many parts of the East.

The teaching of the idea of the brotherhood of man has found itself translated into conduct in India in regard to caste and the depressed classes. The Census Commissioner of Travancore, a Brahman, recently put on record his testimony to the social influence of Christianity in raising the lower classes to a level of social usefulness with the high castes, as 'an element of civilization unknown to ancient India'.¹

¹ *Christ and Civilization*, p. 465.

In all the Hindu social reforms of recent years, whether effected by individuals or by associations, in such matters as boy-marriage, girl-marriage, infanticide, polygamy, widowhood, temperance, caste and social service, from beginning to end the ideas that have led to reform have been purely Christian.¹

§ 8. Has Christianity influenced Buddhism? Christian influence on Buddhism is not so very clearly assessable as in the case of Hinduism. The only trace of eclectic development is in Japan. The Ten-ri Kyo is an endeavour 'to re-interpret in new forms Japan's historical beliefs'. It teaches that the soul is an emanation from the gods to whom it returns after death. The system is pantheistic with an infusion of Christian thought.²

Theosophy has not been able to communicate, even through its tainted medium, any Christian teaching or terminology to Buddhism, although in Ceylon, for some years, the agents of the Theosophical Society have been working harmoniously with Buddhists and among them. Oriental propagandists of Buddhism protest that Theosophy, 'a doctrine steeped in soul-heresy,' pilfers Buddhist terminology to mislead foolish people in England and America.³ It is this susceptibility to adaptation that has not made it possible for Theosophy to leave on Buddhism any mark of even a pseudo-Christianity.

¹ *Modern Religious Movements*, pp. 387-429, 442.

² Dr. Jones, *Bible Magazine*, September, 1915, p. 791.

³ Quoted by Professor Rhys-Davids in *The Hibbert Journal*, April, 1903, p. 483.

Christian activities brought about in Ceylon in 1904 and in Burma in 1906 a revival of Buddhism.¹ 'A new enthusiasm for national life and a revival of the old yearnings for the coming One are due, we believe, to the quickening touch of Christianity.'² The effect of the revival has been in both countries to work the Buddhist propaganda on Christian lines.

(1) In Burma the S. P. B. (Society for Promoting Buddhism) was formed as a rival to the S.P.G.

(2) The establishment in Ceylon of orphanages for Buddhist children was followed by founding a Theological College principally for the training of monks.

(3) The Y.M.B.A. was founded in Colombo.

(4) Sunday preaching began to be carried on regularly in Buddhist halls.

(5) The practice of singing carols on 'Lord Buddha's Day' was inaugurated. Cards of greeting came into vogue.

(6) Theistic and Christian phraseology began to be employed in Buddhist tracts, leaflets, etc.

(7) The monks allowed themselves to be addressed 'Reverend' and 'Right Reverend'.

(8) The Ceylon Maha Bodhi Society started issuing 'catechisms', 'aids', 'manuals' corresponding to Christian books of devotion.

Christianity is responsible for the use by Buddhists of theistic terms despite the theological inconsistency of such usage. In Burma the Buddhists say 'Lord have Mercy!' and 'I pray to

¹ *The East and the West*, July, 1904, p. 284, and January, 1906, p. 61. The articles are by Rev. Principal G. B. Ekenayake, M.A., of S. Thomas' College Divinity School, Colombo.

² Saunders, *Buddhist Ideals*, p. 162. See Rhys-Davids' article on *Buddhism as a Living Force* in the *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1903.

the Lord for you.'¹ In Ceylon 'God bless Lord Buddha' is a devout cry and Buddhist secular meetings close with 'God save the King'.

§ 9. In spite of all that has preceded, it is the present writer's conviction that *Christian missions to the lands of Buddhism and Hinduism cannot be justified if missions are to be mere proselytising agencies*. The Gospel of Christ must be presented to the Hindu and to the Buddhist as something essentially Eastern, and not as a product of, or accessory to, Western civilization. 'Unless and until it is made clear to the people of India that it is but what the missionary had liberally received from the East that he liberally gives back to the East, only enriched by assimilation into life and by experience of the Spirit, the Christian missionary will find his task beset with far greater difficulties than it need be.'² It is the Asiatic Christ that the Asiatic will understand and accept.

'Christ for India' . . . is the watchword which must dominate his [the missionary's] thought and shape his methods, if the great task in which he is engaged is to be brought to a successful issue. If the missionary's work is to result in bringing India to Christ, his thought must begin, continue and end in bringing Christ to India. This is recognized so far as the vernacular speech of India is concerned, but it is not sufficiently recognized so far as the

¹ *The East and the West*, January, 1907, p. 97. That Buddhism, even Mahayana, has no idea of 'God' is urged by Dr. Tisdall in *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, 1915, p. 256. I am not sure he can go so far.

² Present writer, in *The East and the West*, January, 1915, pp. 50-51. See the Rev. R. W. Howard's similar remarks in *I.R.M.* January, 1924, p. 42.

vernacular thought of India is concerned. There are missionaries who present their messages in a fluent and idiomatic vernacular, while their thought is utterly foreign to the audience they address. There are even a great number of Indian preachers who, speaking in their mother tongue, invariably think their message in Western terms and shape their thought after Western patterns. This is to bring to India a Christ whom the few may doubtless accept but not a Christ whom the many will welcome.¹

To achieve this there must be a spirit of sympathy, not a patronizing commiseration as of the saved for the 'perishing' or of the Christian for the 'heathen'. 'Heathen' is an offensive term, out of date, and one, the use of which in prayers, on platforms, in the pulpits or in missionary reports is calculated to alienate the non-Christian's confidence, courtesy and kindliness. Sympathy, again, should be a readiness to appreciate the best in Hindu and Buddhist religious thought, and pass on from appreciation to appropriation and use. It is a sign of deficient information and poor intellectual equipment to relegate to the rubbish heap of the literature of superstition the best and the highest in the books of Buddhism and Hinduism. Elsewhere² I have shown how, for instance, the

¹ Bernard Lucas, *Christ for India*, Preface, pp. vii, viii.

² *The East and the West*, January, 1915. As a specimen of false strategy in the missionary approach to India, see Mr. Fraelich's article on *South Indian Mysticism and the Gospel in The Indian Interpreter* for July, 1912. He attributes the Siddhanta to the Devil. The contribution is marked by narrowness of outlook and ignorance of the subject-matter. See Bernard Lucas, *Our Task in India*, pp. 82-5, for disapproval of Mr. Fraelich's attitude towards Hinduism. See the Rev. J. R. Bacon's very thoughtful article, 'The Gita as an Aid to the Christian missionary', in the April, 1914 issue of *The East and the West*, p. 169.

Siddhanta system of South India might be made use of in the evangelization of India. If the position is assumed, as it must be, that the non-Christian faiths were the preparation for the fulness of the revelation of God in Christ Jesus, then it is a paramount duty of the evangelizer of India to employ with sympathetic discernment, to their fullest extent, the rich contents of the highest thoughts of the forerunners of our faith. An ill-equipped soldier has no business on the battle-field. No man has a right to be sent out to India as a missionary who is not ready to see in the wide range of the literature of the land, the oldest of which dates from the bygone centuries long, long before the Christ, God's purpose pressing for self-revelation in the course of the ages in foregleams of the glory of the Gospel. Ungrudging recognition of the ethical, philosophical and devotional loftiness of the highest in Indian thought is a strategic necessity in missionary enterprise. The best missionary in Indian religious history was Gautama Buddha, who took over from the religion of his day its great ideals and transmuted them to the gold of his teaching. Even so may the Christian do, and greater success than the Buddha's will be his if intellectual preparedness is strengthened by the replenishing genius of the resources of the Holy Spirit of God.

§ 10. James Bissett Pratt has three thoughtful chapters with which he concludes his study¹ of 'the general problems of the psychology and philo-

¹ *India and Its Faiths.*

sophy of religion' and his presentation of 'Indian religious life as it is to-day, without partisanship or antecedent bias'. One is entitled *The Value of Buddhism and Its Springs of Power*; the next is *Christian Missions in India*; and the last is, *What the West might learn*. I take leave to give a few representative sentences from the last two of these chapters in this section.

1. 'If it were a matter only of exchanging one set of symbols for another there would be little justification for missions. . . . Are admitted differences negligible or important, and is Christianity on the whole sufficiently superior to the other religions to justify the missionary effort for the conversion of the non-Christian world?'¹

2. 'It would be easy but most unjudicial to declare that Christianity is the best religion, because it is true and the others are false. . . . It would be equally easy for the Mahomedan, the Buddhist, and the rest to judge *our* religion in the same cavalier fashion. . . . It is safest to compare the different religions by their verifiable effects upon human life.'²

3. 'The Vedanta . . . pictures the soul as so dependent upon God or so lost in Him that there is no place left for real individuality and genuine responsibility and freedom.'³

4. 'In comparison with Buddhism and Jainism, Christianity has the unquestionable psychological

¹ *India and Its Faiths*, p. 449.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 449-50.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 450.

advantage of the belief in an active spiritual world, in a living God rather than in a dead man, or a group of inactive Tirthankaras.¹ This, I say, is an *advantage from the point of view of human life*: it is a *psychological advantage*.²

5. 'It is safe to say that no other historical personality has ever had an influence approaching that of Jesus as an inspiration and a present help toward the highest form of self-forgetful usefulness and active love.'³

6. 'The attempt to foist Christianity in its present Western garb upon the Indian as a *complete* substitute for his old religion is of doubtful wisdom. There is so much that is fine and genuinely spiritual in the nobler forms of faith native to India that it will be a great pity if some means cannot be found for preserving these within Indian Christianity. Did God indeed speak only in Palestine, that His voice is not to be heard in the Upanishads? And is our Western form of Christianity the only proper form? Too often we forget that Jesus Himself was an Oriental.'⁴

7. 'The culture of the soul has been, and still is, the one great ideal of India.'⁵

8. 'The Indian has not lost this vision [of the Eternal]. He has lost many other things. . . . Some divine intuition of the Invisible, some inarticulate

¹ 'Ford-finders', the twenty-four Jain saints, the first to find the way to heaven.

² *India and Its Faiths*, p. 450.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 458-9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 452.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 471.

intention of the Eternal, has ever hung about him and is still brooding over his land.' ¹

§ 11. Bernard Lucas discusses the ethics of missions from a point of view different from Dr. Pratt's. The latter writes from outside, the former from the mission field.² The view-point of Mr. Lucas is noticeable in his three books, *The Empire of Christ*, *Christ for India*, and particularly *Our Task in India*, with its arresting sub-title, '*Shall we proselytise Hindus or evangelise India?*' The missionary's business in India is not to make proselytes but to publish abroad the Kingdom of God. From Mr. Lucas's last-named book I take leave to make a few typical extracts illustrative of the reasonableness of his position :

1. 'One of the commonest mistakes which the missionary dominated by the proselytising spirit makes is the importance he attaches to the correction of the intellectual errors of Hinduism, rather than first seeking to evolve by means of the aspirations which Hinduism has matured that sense of incompleteness and lack which, though often unrealized, is never entirely absent from the truly religious Hindu. . . . The true defect of Hinduism is not so much in its logic, as in the failure to reconcile religion with life.'³

2. 'When shall we realize that a scheme of salvation, whatever it may be, is only effective when

¹ *India and Its Faiths*, p. 473.

² The Rev. B. Lucas was a worker of the London Missionary Society in India. He died in 1921.

³ *Our Task in India*, p. 78.

it does actually save a man, not from some future hell, but from the sin and selfishness which make this world a hell? ¹

3. 'The evangelist must have a capacity for seeing things from the Hindu standpoint, not necessarily that he may adopt that standpoint, but that from it he may point upwards and onwards. . . He must be at home in Hindu religious thought, not merely that he may controvert what he conceives to be its error, but that he may transfigure its truth with the glory of a fuller and a richer expression.'²

4. 'We must make it perfectly clear and evident that, as regards ourselves and our work, mere accession to organized Christianity is not our primary object.'³

5. 'There is a distinct type of religious thought and life in India which God has been evolving through the centuries and this must be saved both for India and for the world.'⁴

6. 'The Hindu must be saved as a Hindu. . . He must be saved *for* and not *from* India.'⁵

7. 'Is our message of Christ to India to be confined within Western theological and ecclesiastical moulds as it was once in danger of being confined within Jewish moulds, or is it to be a message of spiritual life, free to be cast in fresh moulds which Indian religious thought and feeling

¹ *Our Task in India*, p. 78.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 105. See p. 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 92.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

are able to provide? The final success or failure of our Indian missions turns upon the answer the Church is prepared to give to this vital question.¹

§ 12. The justification for Christian missions to non-Christian peoples is often jeopardized by false missionary strategy. That Hindu and Buddhist lands are becoming far more rapidly Westernized than they are Christianized is a fact. Statistics of conversions to Christianity and figures illustrative of increase in baptismal rates cannot surmount the conclusiveness of the leavening actuality of Western civilization. Time was when the latter was identified with Christianity. We in the East now know better than to equate the religion of the Asiatic Christ with the entire contents and full implications of the civilization of the West. It is an error to emphasize the equation. 'The awakening of China', remarked Tuan Fang while on a visit to America, 'may be traced in no small measure to the hands of the missionaries. *They have borne the light of Western civilization to every nook and corner of the Empire.*'² The italicised words clearly indicate the Chinaman's meaning—the awakening of China is largely due to *Western civilization* through the agency of the missionaries. Would that he could have said, 'They have borne *the light of the Gospel* to every nook and corner of the Empire'! I have no hesitation in saying that Christianity is possible in the

¹ *Our Task in India*, p. 4.

² Quoted by the Rev. Dr. J. S. Dennis in *Christ and Civilization*, p. 474.

East without Western civilization ; that Western civilization is not co-extensive with civilization ; that the East has its civilization ; and that the acquisition of Western civilization by Easterners not only does not necessarily make them Christians but keeps them very staunch and very exemplary Hindus and Buddhists. Nothing I have said here is intended to convey the impression, as ungrateful as ungracious, that the East is under no obligations to the West. The West has roused the East from the slumber of ages ; restored lost ideals ; given impulses to comparison and construction ; instilled ambitions lawful within bounds, perilous when the limits are transgressed ; and set standards of liberty, heroism and sacrifice the noblest the world has known. All this and more has the West done. Those of us of the East who have adopted Western modes of social life, and assimilated the influence of Western culture, are thankful we have done so. Yet, I feel free to say *that Christianity and Western civilization are not the same thing*. It is possible to be a Christian without being Westernized, and those most thoroughly saturated with Western culture and Western civilization are not necessarily even nominally Christians. I must insist on the thought that the equation of Christianity with Western civilization is not a right position in missionary strategy, for, among other things, it is calculated to give the enemy occasion to see in the failures of the latter the futility of the former.

§ 13. Justification for Christian missions to

Hindu and Buddhist peoples is in danger of being lessened by *lack of singleness of purpose* in missionary enterprise. A man sent out from the West to the uttermost East as a soul-winner has no right to resolve himself into a money-maker for his principals however much his secular business may replenish mission funds. He may be a powerful contributor to what Dr. Dennis calls 'the economic and commercial value of missions,'¹ but he has ceased to be an apostle of Christ, and it is no harsh judgment to think that he has forfeited his claim to retain his name on the roll of the noble army of the sent-out of God. There is to my mind no difference between such a man and a Londoner or New Yorker who has a successful banking or other useful, secular, business in one of the cities of the East. The point, however, is (to my lay mind) that that man has lost the original singleness of vision and acquired a new, a secular, outlook. It makes no difference whether the man has become a printer, or a bookbinder, or a banker, a compositor or even a king—if he is not *solely* a missionary. All that counts is that his heart is not in soul-saving. True, printers can save souls, so can bankers—would the West therefore send out to the East, not missionaries, men and women whose lives of sacrifice and self-denial are an abiding influence and inspiration to the Church, but experts in trade and industry, men whose success is measured by the amount of money amassed, and

¹ *Christ and Civilization*, p. 475.

with whom, soul-saving, if it counts at all, counts as a secondary concern? Send out such on the off-chance of their developing a hobby for soul-saving as for stamp-collecting!

Take again education. It is a powerful factor in the bettering of the world. All knowledge is ascribable, directly or indirectly, to the illumination by the Spirit of the God of all understanding and wisdom. Yet, a man who is sent out as a missionary has no right to become essentially a school-master—a principal, vice-principal, lecturer or supervisor in a school or college in close competition with similar institutions manned by the best men of the Hindu or the Buddhist laity. Once it is remembered that that man had been sent out from the West to the East at an enormous expenditure, it is pathetic to think that he should, after all, give the working days of the week, the best hours of the day, the best years of his life, to toil under enervating tropical conditions, in the cause of inculcating purely secular information however valuable and however much worthy of acquisition. *He was sent out as a soul-saver ; he has ceased to be an apostle.* That portions of Scripture, coincident with the requirements of a particular examination, are taught in his school or college, and that he preaches in a Church on Sundays, do not make him more a missionary. The impression is erroneous that a grant-in-aid education is a gateway to the Kingdom of God. The unintentional bribe of education may secure, in some cases, accession to some form of organized Christianity. Proselytes so readily made have been

known, however, to become apostates.¹ The 'missionary' may be an eminent educationist: he is not concerned with souls. He has no leisure for the work which justifies his presence in the East, his name being on the roll of the world's greatest heroes, and the very title which alone differentiates him from lay school-masters. Are 'missionary' schools and colleges then to be closed? By no means. *Free the missionary to do the work of his Master.* Nothing that I am urging is intended to be disparaging to the cause of education. The point sought to be made is that a man called to serve the Lord Jesus Christ, and solemnly set apart for such service and sent out in such service, does wrong in not giving his *whole* time to what he has been called. The Lord's objection to 'two masters' touches the situation severely. In secular callings the rule of whole time and one master is insisted upon by all good employers—why relax the rule in Christ's employment? A two-masters' service is an impossibility. Only *one* master is *really* served. We '*cannot* serve two masters.' Being about the Lord's business calls for undivided attention.

A tent-maker may continue to be a Saul of Tarsus; a cobbler may be a cobbler and be a Carey; a carpenter may be a Christ. Reverse the process and it is all wrong. Saul turned tent-maker is a

¹ Several instances in North Ceylon. A misguided 'missionary' school master sent at his own expense for education to London a Hindu youth of Ceylon. He was then supposed to be in that deceptive state known as 'under conviction'. Three years afterwards I came across him, a Barrister-at-Law by calling, a blasphemer of the Christian religion by conviction.

failure as a Paul; Carey turned cobbler has no power over souls; a Christ turned carpenter ceases to be a Christ. Failure is in the very fibre of the reversal. Tent-making was a side-issue with Paul. 'Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel,'¹ he was led to exclaim under the constraining sense of his singleness of purpose. Carpentry was a side-interest with Christ. 'I must be about my Father's business,'² He said, cramming all life and leisure into this one Christ-purpose. 'I shall make you fishers of men',³ He said, and men left *all* and followed Him.⁴ Soul-saving was with Christ, as with His disciples, the *main* business. No man can call himself His disciple, His apostle, who makes the business of souls a side-issue, a pastime. The apostle of Christ, the sent of the Lord, must be *separate, set apart*.⁵ Jesus Christ is exacting in allegiance to Him, and yet His yoke is easy.⁶ Such as take it may not turn back. Such as elect to serve the Christ may not let side-glances at other masters sway them from undistracted loyalty to the cause of the Cross. They should *live* the prayer, 'Thy Kingdom come'.⁷ *Such* are the true torch-bearers of the Lord. They alone carry to the uttermost places of the earth, into its darkness, or into dim-lit regions where have already fallen foregleams of God, the fulness of the Light.

¹ 1 Corinthians ix. 16.

² St. Luke ii. 49 (A. V.) St. John viii. 29.

³ St. Matthew iv. 19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 22; ix. 9; St. Luke ix. 50; St. Matthew xix. 27.

⁵ Acts xiii. 2.

⁶ St. Matthew xi. 30.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vi. 10.

APPENDIX OF NOTES

NOTE A (page 52, above). *The Higher Criticism.*

By far the best popular account of the 'higher criticism' of the books of Moses and Joshua ('the Hexateuch') is that given in Prof. Kent's *Beginnings of Hebrew History* (a volume of his *The Student's Old Testament*), pp. 3-48. The three basal conclusions of the higher criticism are :¹

1. 'The crystallization of the Old Testament tradition into literary form was gradual and progressive, and that different collections of homogeneous narratives are the work of four distinct groups or schools of writers who flourished at different periods in Israel's history.

2. 'The present arrangement of the stories is the result, first of the close amalgamation of extracts from the two older prophetic groups and then of their being combined with the late prophetic and very late priestly narratives.

3. 'These composite histories have been supplemented at different stages by later additions and harmonistic and editorial notes.'

The strata in the composition are known as :

Judean Prophetic Narratives (also Jehovistic), (J).

Elohistic (Ephraimite) Prophetic Narratives, (E).

Deuteronomic or Late Prophetic Narratives, (D).

Late Priestly Narratives, (P).

There are sub-divisions of J., E., D., P.

The principles of the higher criticism applied to the entire Bible resulted in 1897 in the production of a monumental work, edited by Prof. Paul Haupt of the John Hopkins University, Baltimore, named *The Polychrome Bible*, in which the various strata constituting a book, a chapter, or a text were distinguished by being printed in various colours. Some idea of the processes of fusion of J. with E., of J. E. with D., and J. E. D. with P. may be gathered from Carpenter and Harford's *The Composition of the Hexateuch*, a book for scholars. The first six books of the Bible arranged according to constituent documents (in English) are given in *The Hexateuch* : edited by J. Estlin Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby (2 vols.). The authors of *The Composition of the Hexateuch* find (pp. 10-12) parallels to the composite structure of Biblical books in the records of Buddhism and Brahmanism.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

To those conversant with Hebrew the late Dr. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* will be found helpful in understanding higher critical processes and conclusions. In his *Genesis* (Westminster Commentary, pp. i-xlviii) Dr. Driver gives, for English readers, an almost exhaustive survey of the characteristics of J., E., P., D. His *Deuteronomy* (International Critical Commentary Series) has far less space than his *Genesis* for higher critical methods. See also W. E. Addis, *Documents of the Hexateuch*.

Among notable books and magazine articles written in opposition to the higher critics may be mentioned the following :

1. Dr. W. L. Baxter's *Sanctuary and Sacrifice: A Reply to Wellhausen*.

This was published in 1896. Interest in it was revived by a series of articles in *The Princeton Theological Review* for July, Oct. 1922, July 1923, Jan. 1924.

2. The Rev. A. H. Finn's *The Unity of the Pentateuch*, 1922.

3. Dr. R. D. Wilson's *Is the Higher Criticism Scholarly?*

The fourth edition of this little book was issued in 1923.

The author is Professor of Semitic Philology in Princeton Theological Seminary, and is credited with knowing 45 languages.

4. Harold M. Wiener's *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism* [1910], *The Origin of the Pentateuch* [1912] and *The Prophets of Israel* [1923]. The writer is an English Barrister-at-Law and contributor of severely searching articles on the higher criticism to *The Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1920.

5. *The Higher Criticism in Relation to the Pentateuch*, by Dr. Edouard Naville of the University of Geneva [1923].

At p. 5, the learned author states as one of the theses of his very well-reasoned work, 'It is in the sphere of reconstruction that the higher criticism is especially weak, and that because it sets out with a method which, in union with some eminent contemporary scholars, whose numbers are daily on the increase, I declare to be unsound'.

6. *Lines of Defence of Biblical Revelation*, by Prof. D. S. Margoliouth of Cambridge appeared as a series of articles in *The Expositor* for 1900.

They deal with Job and Isaiah. The principles and method of reasoning of the writer are applicable to the discussion of the higher criticism generally.

7. The Rev. A. C. Robinson's *The Divine Title 'Lord of Hosts'* [1924].

This is a pamphlet of 31 pages. Its thesis is this: The Divine Title, 'Lord of Hosts' never occurs in the Pentateuch: it occurs for the first time in 1 Sam. i. 3, and thereafter very frequently, especially in the Prophets, 281 times in all. If the Pentateuch was written, as the critics allege, by a multitude of

writers in the later age when this title for God was so much in vogue, how is it that not one of them has used this title *even once* in the Pentateuch?

On the argument from Divine Names the most notable modern study is that by Dr. R. D. Wilson in *The Princeton Theological Review* for July 1920 and July 1921

NOTE B (p. 63, above). *The Angel of the Lord.*

The Angel of the Lord is a manifestation of Deity Himself. It is a theophany, a self-revelation of God in human form. That He is not distinct from God is clear from texts like Gen. xxxi. 11, 13; Gen. xxi. 18; Exod. iii. 2, 6, where the Angel equates Himself with Deity. In passages where a distinction is implied it is a distinction for the occasion of a particular function. Scripture explaining Scripture, there is no inconsistency in the conception of the Angel of the Lord as sometimes directly equated with God, and at other times distinguished from God. The present writer has discussed Hindu theophany in his *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, Introd., Part. vii. An exhaustive treatment of theophanies is in Liddon's *Divinity of Our Lord*, pp. 51-59.

NOTE C (p. 71, above). *Monotheism.*

Dr. G. A. Grierson (*Transactions of the Third International Congress of the History of Religions*, ii, 45) is of opinion that the warrior caste of India evolved monotheism in India, probably out of the early Indo-Iranian sun-worship. He says further (p. 47), 'The belief in numerous subordinate deities—the polytheism and fetishism which is a prominent feature in the Hinduism of the present day—is not inconsistent with this monotheism'. In *The Jewish Quarterly Review* for October, 1921, at p. 205 is a survey by Dr. Joseph Reider of some books of the year. Professor Badé of California is referred to as the coiner of the 'monojahvism' in place of what he disliked, 'monotheism'. Prof. John of Leiden is quoted as tracing monolatry from idolatry and as holding Jewish monotheism to be a prophetic fiction. What is said of the conclusions of a French scholar, A. Causse, may be reproduced here, at least to show how doctors differ:

Oriental monotheism never lost its heathen substratum and pantheistic tendencies while the monotheism of the prophets, though subject to syncretism, always retained its high idealistic standard which it expounded to the entire world. It will be seen from this that the author does not subscribe to the radical and iconoclastic views of Jensen, Winckler; and their Pan-Babylonian *confreeres*, who endeavour to trace every phase of Hebraism to either a Babylonian or Egyptian origin. Universalistic monotheism, the author maintains, is the creation of the Hebrews alone.

In connection with the Pan-Babylonian tendencies of some scholars may be mentioned a very remarkable work by Professor A. T. Clay of Yale, *A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform* [1922]. The following conclusions in the book are striking :

As was the case in pre-Mosaic days, and to a large extent in early Israel, when henotheism prevailed, 'God' is the foremost Deity. . . . It will require that *the prevailing view be abandoned that the Hebrew traditions were borrowed from Babylonia* (p. 5). . . . The assertion that the culture and religion of Israel were borrowed from Babylonia is without any foundation (p. 6) There is no need to find the origin of the Biblical stories in Babylonia (p. 27).

NOTE D (p. 88, above). *Human Sacrifice among the Jews.*

Prof. H. L. Strack of Berlin wrote his *The Jew and Human Sacrifice* to repel accusations of ritual murder brought against the Jews, of 'human sacrifices brought about in order to eat the blood in their unleavened bread' (p. 16). At p. 30 he says, 'It is well known that human sacrifices were from the beginning most strictly forbidden to the Israelites, the possessors of the revealed religion of the Old Testament : Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 2 ; Deut. xii. 31, xviii. 10.' At p. 127, he writes, 'In the whole of the literature concerned with the Jewish religious law there is no passage whence it could be concluded that the Jews are, or were, permitted to eat human blood.' Prof. Burney of Oxford in his *Judges* (p. 329) has a full note on human sacrifice among the Jews. His conclusions are :

1. The practice was not unknown among the Israelites, though in historical times exceptionally so.
2. The practice was more frequent in pre-Mosaic times.
3. The providing of an animal substitute was an early expedient.
4. The instance in 1 Kings xvi. 34 is record of an unusual event.

Scripture references given by Dr. Burney are: Exod. xx. 22-xxiii. 34, xxxiv. 20, xiii. 13 ; Gen. xxii. ; Micah vi. 1-8 ; 2 Kings xxi. 6 ; Jer. iii. 24, vii. 31, xix. 4-6, xxxii. 35 ; 2 Kings xvi. 3, xvii. 17-31 ; Ps. cvi. 37 ; Isa. lvii. 5 ; Deut. xii. 31, xviii. 9 ; Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 2 ; 1 Kings xvi. 34 ; Judges xi. 31.

The writer on human sacrifice among the Hebrews in *E.R.E.*, vi, p. 863, contributes little that is new to the learning on the subject.

Mr. E. A. Gaits' article on human sacrifice in India (*E.R.E.*, vi, 849) gives no instances of human sacrifice (or suggestion of such a practice) earlier than the Sunahsepha legend.

NOTE E (p. 104, above). *God and the Soul as the Beloved.*

The writer may be pardoned for referring the reader to *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, Introd., Part viii for a note on the erotic element

in mysticism. One reading the prophecy of Hosea as a history of the human soul in its separation from, and association with, God will find sufficient justification to call the book of Hosea 'the Book of the Beloved.'

NOTE F (p. 186, above). *The Deity of Christ.*

If God be like Jesus, the world has cause to be glad.

—DR. A. B. BRUCE.

The problem of to-day is not the relatively simple one of the Divinity of Christ; the question of questions is the Christ-likeness of God. . . . Our Lord came not so much to reveal that He was like God, as that God was like Himself.

—E. W. S. in *The Bible in the World*,
Aug. 1923, p. 113.

When we acknowledge the Divinity of Jesus Christ, we are making not a statement about Jesus but a statement about God. It is the real and essential nature of the Godhead and not the nature of Jesus, which is being described. . . . The statement 'Jesus is God' answers the question, 'What is God?', rather than the question, 'What is Jesus?'.

—The Rev. C. F. RUSSELL in *The Interpreter*,
Jan. 1922, p. 112.

Deity is the essential quality of God's nature, Divinity an attribute which He shares with His creatures. In connection with the Person of Our Lord Deity is the preferable term.

—Dr. S. P. T. PRIDEAUX, D.D. in *The Interpreter*,
Jan. 1922, p. 98

. . . As you pass, the workman nods to your friend and gives him a cheerful, 'Good-night'. 'Who is That?', you ask; and he replies, 'You mean that young Carpenter?', that is God'.

—The Rev. C. F. RUSSELL in *The Interpreter*,
Jan. 1922, p. 106.

This subject, the Deity of Christ, may be briefly considered under two heads, in answer to two questions which practically cover the whole field of relevant inquiry:

1. How ancient is the belief in the Deity of Christ?
2. What is the Scriptural evidence for the belief?

Under the answers some of the principal objections to the belief will be sought to be met as concisely as possible within the somewhat restricted scope of this Note.

1. How ancient is the belief in the Deity of Christ?

§ 1. Lest it be objected that the form of this question begs the thesis, let us assume that the person called Jesus in the Gospels was a mere man, and let us institute an inquiry into early opinion about Him. For this purpose the testimony of competent witnesses who lived nearest the time of Christ is admittedly of more probative value than the opinions of men twenty-hundred years thereafter. Bearing this in mind let us examine one of our earliest witnesses of any consequence. He comes into court with very high credentials. He is a Jew, a Pharisee, a man of wide culture, a graduate of one of the best known universities of his age. He was a contemporary¹ of Joshua the son of Miriam, Jesus the son of Mary.² His name is Paul. The date of his testimony may be fixed relatively to an event recorded by writers of Latin history. The crucifixion of Christ is that fact of secular history, for Roman writers state that Jesus called Christus was put to death by crucifixion in the Roman colony of Judaea.³ The evidence of Paul is given in a letter he wrote to the Thessalonian Christians within twenty or twenty-two years of this historical event. The Crucifixion was in A.D. 29, and forty-three days later was the Ascension.

Let us suppose for a moment, with the most extreme critics, that a thick curtain falls over the Church after this event. The curtain is lifted up and what do we find? We turn to the opening verses of the Epistle. S. Paul and his companions give solemn greeting to 'the Church of the Thessalonians which is in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ'. An elaborate process of reflexion, almost a system of theology, lies behind those familiar terms. . . . There is no trace of any debate as to the estimate of the Person of Christ.⁴

The first Thessalonian letter, the earliest of S. Paul's Epistles, and probably the oldest book in the New Testament, is of high evidentiary significance. *Back of the few things written is a body of many things orally taught*⁵ to the Thessalonians. What is more

¹ As to S. Paul's personal knowledge of Christ see *The Expositor* xix (8), p. 241, xxii (8), p. 219.

² S. Matthew i. 16, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος χριστός. It may be noted that in the whole of this section it is said, with studied uniformity, that so-and-so ἐγεννήσεν (begat) so-and-so, but about Christ it is *not* said that Joseph ἐγεννήσεν Jesus. On the different reading in the Syriac of the Sinai Palimpsest see Dr. Agnes Smith Lewis, *Light on the Four Gospels from the Sinai Palimpsest*, pp. 37, 38, and the same author's *Translation of the Four Gospels from the Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest*, pp. xxii-xxiv.

³ Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 44. See Suetonius, *Claudius*, xxv. 4.

⁴ Dr. Sanday, Art., *Jesus Christ* in *H.D.B.*, ii, 648.

⁵ 1 Thess. ii, 9, 13, iv. 2.

remarkable is that the reader's knowledge of Christian facts is assumed. It is reasonable to suppose that the scope of their information was much wider than the area covered by the limited particular purpose of the letters, the first and the second to the Thessalonians. Teaching presupposes some system, and no one will contend that Paul and Sylvanus and Timotheus,¹ the persons in whose name the letters are written, were the originators of such a scheme of teaching. *It is older than the First Thessalonian Letters*, and those who instructed the Thessalonians in Christian fundamentals made use of *some already existing definite, undisputed set of facts and doctrines*. S. Paul's knowledge of Christ-facts may be positively placed at some time *not later than his conversion*, and about the time of his anti-Christian activities we know there were men and women who had been taught 'the way' and who suffered for it at Saul's hands. Thus *within five years of the Crucifixion a system of Christian teaching had sprung up with the Lord Jesus Christ as the main theme of such teaching*—within four years, within three, within two, within just one year, in all probability, nay, even in the very year, of the Crucifixion.

§ 2. One is emboldened to trace the antiquity of the Christology of the Thessalonian Letters to within a month of the crucifixion by the fact, not much noticed by critics, that '*the Christian Church was the possessor of an Apostolic document, involving Apostolic doctrine, SOME TIME BEFORE ANY OF THE DOCUMENTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT THAT ARE KNOWN TO US WERE IN EXISTENCE*'.² The catechetical teaching of matters 'most surely believed'³ among the early Apostolic Christians followed, and did not precede, some authoritative Teaching Book, the existence of which is rendered very highly probable :

When we reflect that the period which elapses between the death of Christ and the first known Christian document⁴ comes a whole human generation, it must be clear to any thoughtful person that such a generation could not have passed away without written records of the history which they were relating, and the truths that they were emphasizing. . . . The first document of the faith, prior to the New Testament, must have arisen out of the exigencies of the first Christian propaganda.⁵

¹ 1 Thess. i. 1.

² Dr. Rendel Harris, *The Origin of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, p. 13.

³ Luke i. 1-4.

⁴ Writings competing for the first place are 1 Thessalonians, Epistle of S. James, and Galatians.

⁵ Rendel Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

Dr. Rendel Harris very convincingly urges that the Book of Teaching *earlier than any known N. T. Book* was an apologetic work known as *Testimonies Against the Jews* or simply *Book of Testimonies*.¹

Since the Testimony Book antedates the N. T. it is the true foundation of Christian doctrine. What that book says about 'Jesus Christ' is our real creed. . . . It is our first authority for Christian doctrine. . . . His [collector of O. T. quotations for *Testimonies*] point of departure is the doctrine that Jesus is the Wisdom of God. . . . We may say boldly that Christianity as a system is founded upon two things: first the identification of Jesus with the Wisdom of God, and second the description of Christ as identified with Wisdom, in terms that are borrowed from the Sapiential literature.²

Of the teaching as to the Person of Christ from O. T. proof-texts Dr. Rendel Harris remarks:

In every case, or almost in every case, the appeal is to the Old Testament. And the reason for this proceeding is clear. The proof was made in the first instance for the Jews, with whom an appeal to the New Testament was not valid and *it was made before the New Testament was written*. So that to prove the doctrine of the Trinity, *or to establish the Deity of Jesus Christ, which is the central point of the Trinity*, from such passages as the Prologue to John, the first chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians and the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, would be to prove it from passages which had already drawn their proof from the Old Testament. Historically, then, the Old Testament is the real court of appeal.³

§ 3. Let us go back to the Thessalonian Letters. What is said there, and implied there, about Christ? The evidence will be noted later for the following:

1. Jesus of history is associated with Christian life, conduct, and destiny.
2. Jesus of history is Lord.
3. Jesus of history is mentioned in terms of equality with God.
4. Jesus of history is 'the Son of the Living God'.

¹ The contents of the *Book of Testimonies* have been recovered to a great extent and issued under the title *Testimonies* in two parts by Dr. Rendel Harris and Prof. Vacher Burch.

² Rendel Harris, *Trinity*, pp. 26, 27, 31. The Wisdom-Logos thesis is elaborated in his *Prologue to the Fourth Gospel*. The Rev. Dr. W. R. Harvey-Kellie in ch. xiii of *The Wisdom of God and the Word of God* covers the same ground as Dr. Harris in *Prologue*.

³ Rendel Harris, *Trinity*, p. 35

5. Jesus the crucified Nazarene *is a living Person*.

6. With the Father and the Son is associated the Holy Spirit.

In the earliest epistles of S. Paul, we find that the Son of God is placed side by side with the Father and is associated with Him as the ground of the Church's being, the source of spiritual grace, and as co-operating with Him in the providential ordering of events (1 Thess. i. 1 ; 2 Thess. i. 1 ; 1 Thess. iii. 11). *It is difficult to describe the effect of the language used in any other terms than as attributing to the Son a coequal Godhead with the Father.* And it is remarkable that S. Paul does this within some twenty-two years of the Ascension, not as though he were laying down anything new but as something which might be assumed as part of the common body of Christian doctrine. How are we to account for the prevalence of such teaching at so early a date, and in a region [Thessalonica] so far removed from the centre of Christianity ? It would be natural if the Lord Jesus Christ Himself in His intercourse with His disciples had prepared them to expect a great activity of the Holy Spirit, and if He had hinted at relations in the Godhead which made it three-fold rather than a simple monad. *Apart from such hints the common belief of the Church respecting Christ Himself and the Holy Spirit seems very difficult to understand.*¹

This somewhat lengthy extract from the late Dr. William Sanday's classic contribution to Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* is given here for two reasons. It does, if I may say so with respect, so well express what the careful reader of the Thessalonian Letters would find out and think out for himself. The other reason is that a Tamil clergyman, the Rev. F. Kingsbury, has been recommending² Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* (with Prof. Mackintosh's article on the Person of Christ) to an Indian Christian as one of the helps for discovering 'what every scholar now knows' about Jesus being a mere man. Mr. Kingsbury's finality and summariness, whether communicated or not to the Indian gentleman to whom he fain would be a guide, might permit themselves to be a little sobered and chastened by Sanday's monumental article *Jesus Christ* in the same Dictionary, likewise the Rev. A. S. Martin's patient and unassertive study on the *Divinity of Christ* in the same work.³ The unobtrusive scholarship of these two articles is humbly commended to the Rev. F. Kingsbury. Independent however of the opinion of men, however eminent in Christian scholarship, we are able to see, as it was intended the earliest Christians should see, from the writings representing such earliest Christianity that Jesus is equated with God.

¹ Dr. W. Sanday in *H. D. B.*, ii, 624 (a). Italics mine.

² *The Christian Patriot*, July 1, 1922, p. 5.

³ *H. D. B.*, i, p. 467.

This equation belongs to a time so early as to carry the belief in the Deity of Christ into Christian antiquity. Paul did not invent Deity for Jesus of Nazareth, nor did anyone else. Deity was asserted of Jesus of Galilee while the witnesses of His brief earthly career, not a few of His contemporaries, were yet alive.¹

§ 4. On this question of the early existence of belief in the Deity of Christ, a witness of at least as great a standing as Paul, and in some respects of far greater importance than that Apostle, is James the writer of the Epistle ascribed to him in the New Testament. His Epistle is claimed by some scholars² as a competitor with Galatians and Thessalonians for earliness. What he says bearing on our subject may be stated thus, subject to the evidence being noted later :

1. The writer is the slave of God *and of the Lord Jesus Christ*.
2. Jesus is *the Lord* of glory and is the object of faith.
3. There is a coming of *the Lord*.
4. Prophecy and healing are *in the Name* of the Lord.
5. The Lord is the Judge and Law-giver.

There is no reason to suppose that the references to 'the Lord' in the Letter of James are not to the same Lord whose bondsman the writer declares he is. It is the Lord of the Coming, the Lord of Judgment, the Lord of the Prophets, the Lord in whose Name men may be healed, the Lord of the Promises, the Lord of the Shekinah—the Lord Jesus Christ.

S. James was a rigid Jew. He would not easily call any one Lord who was not God. He, as a brother of Jesus of Nazareth, had known Him after the flesh more than S. Paul had, and yet he hesitates not to call the same Jesus Lord. The Deity of Jesus his brother had dawned on James after the Crucifixion, after the Resurrection, probably about the time the Lord appeared to James.³ James had been, in some ways, as hostile to Jesus as Saul had been. The evidence, therefore, of James like Paul's, is all the more valuable. In Galatians S. Paul states on oath—'Before God I lie not'⁴—that more than three years after his conversion (long before the Thessalonian Letters) he 'saw James the Lord's brother at Jerusalem when on a visit to Cephas.'⁵ The presumably greater knowledge S. James had of the Lord, by reason of his fleshly kinship, no doubt enabled him to communicate to S. Paul, on that Jerusalem visit, not only facts of the Lord's life but even beliefs concerning Him as current in the

¹ For a popular presenting of sane, scholarly views on early belief in the Deity of Christ, see Dr. H. C. G. Moule's *Light from the First Days*, pp. 26-45.

² See Knowling, *S. James*, p. xxxix. • ³ 1 Cor. xv. 7.

⁴ Gal. i. 20.

⁵ Gal. i. 18-20.

Jerusalem Church. This is not inconsistent with S. Paul's own recent receiving of commission and revelation¹ from the Lord. Thus by another route we travel back from the Thessalonian Letters to times as close as possible to the earliest age of belief in the Deity of Christ.

2. What is the evidence for the early Christian belief in the Deity of Christ?

§ 5. Let us, in dealing with the evidence for the belief in the Deity of Christ, take first a few proof passages at random before making detailed references to particular books. In the book of *Revelation* are these words.²

Fear not ; I am the First and the Last ; I am He that liveth and was dead ; and behold I am alive for evermore.

Now, admittedly, the Lord Jesus Christ is the speaker. He is the Jesus of history, '*I was dead.*' Apart from other thoughts suggested by these verses we may mention two—

(1) The Speaker claims self-existence, 'I am he that liveth³. . . I am alive for evermore.'

(2) The Speaker expressly claims Deity, 'I am the First and the Last.'

If not for the historical reminder, 'I was dead', one would hesitate to equate the Speaker's statement of being the First and the Last with that of the Speaker in verse 8 of the same chapter. The Speaker in verses 17 and 18 puts Himself on a level with Him of verse 8. Co-equal Deity is unmistakable.

Even without association with the 8th verse, the claim in the 17th, 'I am the First and the Last,' is a distinct and deliberate claim to being Deity. Turn to Isaiah and read :

I the Lord, the First and with the Last, I He . . . thus saith the Lord the King of Israel, and his Redeemer the Lord of Hosts ; I am the First and I am the Last, and beside Me there is no God. . . . I He, I am the First, I also am the Last.⁴ . . .

A higher critical commentator of *Isaiah*⁵ points out that the phrase 'the First . . . the Last' in Isa. xli. 4 refers to 'the Everlasting God' of xl. 28 and 'is the original of Rev. i. 17, ii. 8 ; xxii. 13.' It is beyond any chance of a doubt that the Lord Jesus Christ, *Jesus who was dead*, the Speaker in the beginning and the end of *Revelation*, equates Himself with the Everlasting God.

¹ Gal. i. 12.

² Rev. i. 17, 18.

³ On this 'I He' see the article by the Rev. P. J. Beveridge in *The Expositor*, December 1923, p. 418. Also *Expos.* October 1924, p. 307.

⁴ Isa. xli. 4 ; xlv. 6 ; xlviii. 12.

⁵ Wade, *Isaiah* (Westminster Commentary), p. 260

In Rev. vii. 16, 17 are these words :

They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more ; neither shall the sun strike on them nor any heat. For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of water ; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

When we parallel with all but the last sentence of the above the words of Isa. xlix. 10

They shall not hunger nor thirst ; neither shall the heat nor sun smite them ; for he that hath mercy on them shall lead them, even by the springs of water shall he guide them, we are impressed with the fact that the author of *Revelation* equates ' the Lamb in the midst of the throne ' with ' the Lord ' of *Isaiah*.

We read these words in Isa. lx. 19 :

The sun shall be no more thy light by day ; neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee ; but *the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory.*

Put by its side Rev. xxi. 23 ; xxii. 5 :

And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it : for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. . . . They need no candle, neither light of the sun ; *for the Lord God giveth them light.* . . .

The *Revelation* passages are based on *Isaiah*. ' Jehovah will be . . . light, and thy God . . . thy glory ' is parallel to ' Glory of God did lighten it and the Lamb is the light thereof '. Just as ' Jehovah, light . . . God, glory ' refers to God, *one*, so ' Glory, God . . . Lamb, light ' refer *not* to *two* Gods. ' The Lord giveth light ' in Rev. xxii. 5 is the result of the equation of Isa. lx. 19 with Rev. xxi. 23, and of God with the Lamb.

The author of *Revelation* postulates Deity for Jesus in very clear terms, and, in the instances we have seen, he does so on the basis of the Old Testament, exactly as the author or authors of the *Testimony Book*.

§ 6. The Rev. Francis Kingsbury has, since the Modern Churchmen's Conference of 1921, written a great deal against the Deity of Christ in that very widely read weekly, *The Christian Patriot* of Madras. The somewhat popular character of the contributions, at any rate of such as I have read, eight in number, may, perhaps, account for two at least of their features :

(1) A tone of finality not unmingled with arbitrariness, about his decisions, rather than opinions, without concession of any possibility of appeal.

(2) A tremendous amount of deference to a few writers, with again the arbitrariness of ignoring the very existence of *other* writers of accredited eminence in learning, and the bare chance of *other* views,

He *rules* (not ventures to think) for instance that 'this is *the only view one can get* from a critical study of the three Synoptic Gospels, Acts i-xii; 1 Peter and James', namely, that Jesus Christ is *not* God.¹

(1) The Fourth Gospel, the Gospel of the Deity of our Lord, is, Mr. Kingsbury agrees with some scholars in believing, not sufficiently historical to be cited. 'There is considerable material for history here. *But* when the Johannine conception of Jesus goes beyond the Synoptic conception scholars [not some scholars] *accept the Synoptic conception and reject the Johannine*. Cf. Hastings, One vol. *Dict.* pp., 442, 443'.²

Let it be observed that

(a) There are *other* scholars who think quite differently.³

(b) Prof. Burney's *Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, 1923, has revolutionized Johannine scholarship, antedated the Fourth Gospel, and given good reasons for the Virgin Birth being known to the author.⁴

Professor C. F. Burney is Oriel Prof. of Scr. Interpretation at Oxford.

(c) The Synoptics are not intelligible without the Fourth Gospel, and the Fourth without the first three.

(2) Why Acts i-xii only? What is the matter with xiii—end? Mr. Kingsbury concedes that 'the earlier part is ch. i-xv. 35'.⁵

(3) One is entitled to wonder why on grounds of earliness the Thessalonian Letters and *Galatians* are outside the proof-area mapped out by Mr. Kingsbury.

As a concession to Mr. Kingsbury's demands let us take the books he names, in his order, and see if the view he advocates is really 'the only view', as Mr. Kingsbury somewhat pontifically puts it.

(A) S. Mark, opening his Gospel, with the Baptist's mission, quotes,⁶ after the manner of the *Testimony* compilers, an Old Testament passage thus:

As it is written in the Prophets,⁷ Behold I send my messenger before *thy face*, which shall prepare *thy way* before thee. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, prepare ye *the way of the Lord*.

¹ *The Christian Patriot*, 17. 6. 22, p. 3. Italics mine.

² *Ibid.*, 29. 7. 22, p. 5. Italics mine.

³ E.g. Lightfoot and Westcott.

⁴ See *Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 34, 43, 128.

⁵ That *Acts* is a posthumous edition of an unfinished book of S. Luke's is the theory of Prof. J. deZwaan in *H. T. R.*, April, 1924, p. 95.

⁶ Mark i. 2, 3.

⁷ I follow the A.V. Italics mine throughout, if not otherwise tated.

S. Matthew introduces the Baptist in these terms : ¹

This is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias saying, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, ' Prepare ye *the way of the Lord* '.

S. Luke records of the Baptist : ²

And he came . . . preaching . . . as it is written, The voice . . . etc. And thou, child, shall be called the prophet of the Highest, for thou shalt go *before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways*.

The words quoted by S. Mark are from *Malachi* and *Isaiah*. The *Malachi* original is fully as follows : ³

Behold I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way *before me* : and *the Lord* whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple, *even the messenger of the covenant*, whom ye delight in : behold he shall come, saith the Lord of hosts.

It will be conceded, I trust, as legitimate to make the following observations :

1. The Synoptists agree in understanding John the Baptist as *the messenger sent before the face of the Lord*, and they also agree in the view that *John was the forerunner of Jesus*. They equate Jesus with *the Lord*. Our Lord applies the *Malachi* passage to Himself and the Baptist. ⁴

2. The Old Testament '*My messenger before Me*' is in the Synoptists, '*My messenger before thy face . . . before the face of the Lord*'. Jesus is equated with *the Lord* of the *Malachi* passage.

3. No one has ever suggested that the Synoptists represent John the Baptist as the forerunner of any one *but Jesus*.

4. In the *Malachi* passage the term ' messenger ' is applied to two persons, one of whom is ' the Lord . . . the messenger of the covenant ', and he is co-equal with Deity ' the Lord of hosts '.

There is thus the possibility of finding in the Synoptists a view different from Mr. Kingsbury's ' only view '.

(B) ' And they asked him, saying, Why say the scribes that Elias must first come. . . . And he answered and told them, Elias verily cometh first. . . . Elias is indeed come and they have done unto him whatsoever they listed . . . ' ⁵

Now Christ explained to the disciples that John was the Elijah ⁶ of the scribes' teaching, and the disciples understood that He spoke to them of John the Baptist ⁷ John had the spirit and power of Elijah. ⁸ The point then is not whether John was in fact in any

¹ Matt. iii. 3.

² Luke iii. 3, 4 ; i. 76.

³ Malachi iii. 1.

⁴ Matt. xi. 10.

⁵ Mark ix. 11-13.

⁶ Matt. xi. 14.

⁷ Matt. xvii. 10.

⁸ Luke i. 17.

sense Elijah, but *that he is actually represented in the Synoptic tradition as the Elijah of the teaching of the scribes*. The scribes obviously based their teaching on Mal. iv. 5, 6.

Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord : and he shall turn the heart of the fathers unto the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest *I come* and smite the earth with a curse.

In the Synoptic tradition we read of an application of these words to John the Baptist :¹

And many of the children of Israel shall he turn to *the Lord their God*. And he shall go *before him* in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just ; to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.

Let it be noted that :

1. John, fulfilling what had been said of Elijah, *went before the Lord*.

2. The Malachi threat, ' Lest I come and smite the earth with a curse,' is in the atmosphere of the burning of the stubble in Mal. iv. 1. The speaker is the Lord. The Synoptic application is in John's preaching as to the fan and the fire and the burning.² Acts foretold of the Lord in Malachi are foretold of Jesus.

3. The preaching of John in the rôle of Elijah, is followed in *Matthew* by the immediate announcement : *Then cometh Jesus from Galilee*,³ and in *Mark* by the statement : *And it came to pass in those days that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee*.⁴ John is the herald of the Lord.

4. It is only by dissociating the Synoptic records from *Malachi* that we can escape the inference that the Day of the Lord was the Day of Jesus.

Thus again, ' the *only* view ' is *not* that Jesus was a mere man.

(C) A question was once propounded to the Pharisees by Christ and no man was able to answer Him a word. The Synoptic record of the incident is in Matt. xxii. 41-46 and briefly in Luke xx. 41-44, and in Mark xii. 35-37. From the last place we quote :

And Jesus said as He taught in the temple, How say the Scribes that Christ is the Son of David ? For David himself said by the Holy Spirit, ' The Lord said unto my Lord,'⁵ Sit thou on my right hand till I make thine enemies thy footstool. David himself called him Lord ; and whence then is he his son ?

¹ Luke i. 16, 17.

² Matt. iii. 10, 12.

³ Matt. iii. 13.

⁴ Mark i. 9.

⁵ The Hebrew is best rendered, ' Jehovah's oracle unto my Lord.'

That the *Deity of Christ the Son of David* was put in issue is clear from the context of the Psalms, and one may well ask, as somebody long ago asked, 'Unto which of the angels said He at any time, "Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool!"' As evidence of the very early use of *Psalms* cx. and xlv. 7 to prove the Deity of the Messiah reference may be made to *Hebrews* i. 8-13.

1. 'The Lord said unto my Lord,' in Ps. cx. 1, was taught by Christ as applying to 'Christ'² and we know that the Son of David was 'Jesus called the Christ.'³ It was so explained by S. Peter.⁴ The author of *Hebrews* adopts the application.⁵

2. Whoever the author of *Hebrews* was, he wrote at a time nearer to the Synoptics than two thousand years removed from them. His understanding of Ps. cx. 1 is in a setting of Deity. He quotes⁶ Ps. xlv. 7 and applies it thus, 'Unto the Son he saith, Thy throne O God is for ever and ever.'

3. The Deity of Christ is implied in Ps. cx. 1 and in Ps. xlv. 7 as understood by early Christians.⁷

(D) In S. Matthew's Gospel⁸ Christ is reported to have said, 'The Son of man is come to save that which was lost,' in the context of a good shepherd seeking the single sheep that had gone astray. Christ further said, 'I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel'.⁹ Read with these two utterances the following O. T. words:¹⁰

Thus saith the Lord God: Behold I even I will both search my sheep and seek them out. As a shepherd seeketh out his flock in the day that he is among the sheep that are scattered, so will I seek out my sheep . . . I will seek that which was lost.

The Synoptic tradition of the shepherd seeking the lost sheep links itself, by way of the Ezekiel passage, to the Johannine record of the Good Shepherd.¹¹

It may be noted that:

(1) The words 'The Son of man is come'¹² suggest the Johannean 'He came,'—from above.

¹ Heb. i. 13.

² Matt. xxii. 41-46.

³ Matt. i. 16.

⁴ Acts ii. 34.

⁵ Heb. i. 13.

⁶ Heb. i. 8.

⁷ For a severe and scholarly examination of the various 'critical' endeavours to emend Ps. xlv. 7, so as to rid it of its doctrinal implications, see the contribution by Professor Oswald F. Allis in *The Princeton Theol. Review*, April 1923, p. 236.

⁸ Matt. xviii. 11-14. Some N. T. editions omit 11.

⁹ Matt. xv. 24.

¹⁰ Ezek. xxxiv. 11, 12, 16.

¹¹ John x. 11-14. Cf. Isa. xl. 9, 10, 11, 'Behold your God. The Lord God . . . He will feed his flock like a Shepherd.' . . .

¹² MS. authority for Matt. xviii. 11 is great (See Burgon, *Revision Revised*, p. 92). If Matt. xviii. 11 is not genuine, read Luke xix. 10.

(2) Christ appropriates to Himself the Ezekiel words of the Lord God.

(E) One of the Synoptists sees in the manner of Christ's entry into Jerusalem fulfilment of O. T. prophecy and he is confirmed by the Fourth Gospel :¹

All this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, 'Tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold thy king cometh into thee. . . .' All the city was moved saying, 'Who is this?' And the multitude said, 'This is Jesus the prophet of Nazareth in Galilee.'²

In *Isaiah*³ are the words, 'Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold thy salvation cometh. . . .' and in *Zechariah*,⁴ 'Behold thy King cometh unto thee . . . having salvation.'

Who was this King? The answer is in *Jeremiah*.⁵

I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper. . . . This is his name. . . . 'Jehovah our Righteousness.'

The King is associated with salvation, is identified with Jehovah, and is *Jesus* 'for he shall save his people from their sins.'⁶ Of the Kingdom of this King there is to be no end,⁷ and His 'goings have been from of old, from the days of eternity.'⁸ *Deity and pre-existence are postulated of the people's Jesus the prophet of Nazareth of Galilee.* The disciples themselves, however, understood not these things at first.⁹

(F) In several places in the O. T. we find the Lord God of Israel assuring the faithful of His continual presence with them. *It is not said of any man in the Bible that he claimed to be always with others.* The promise, 'I am with you'¹⁰ is, as a promise of sustained presence, the prerogative of Deity only in the O. T. But Jesus of Nazareth is reported to have said :

If two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven, *for where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them.* . . . Lo, *I am with you always* even unto the end of the age.¹¹

It may be noted that

1. The promise of Jesus is exactly like the promise of Jehovah. It is the promise of *God alone* as the O. T. shows.

¹ Matt. xxi. 4-5; John xii. 14-15.

² Matt. xxi. 4, 5, 10, 11.

³ lxii. 11.

⁴ ix. 9.

⁵ xxiii. 5-6.

⁶ Matt. i. 21.

⁷ Luke i. 33.

⁸ Mic. v. 2; Matt. ii. 6.

⁹ John xii. 16

¹⁰ Hag. ii. 4; Jer. i. 8; Isa. xliii. 5.

¹¹ Matt. xviii. 19-20; xxviii, 20.

2. Prayer to the Father is heard *because Jesus is in the midst of the praying few*—idea re-calling the sayings in the Johannine tradition.¹

3. *Jesus claimed the prerogative of Deity.*

(G) A number of Synoptic passages in which Jesus of Nazareth is seen, in the light of O. T. texts, to *equate Himself directly with God* will be briefly noticed now. The O. T. and Gospel ideas are presented in parallel form thus :

Jehovah is His people's bride-groom.

Isa. liv. 5 ; lxxii. 5.

Hos. ii. 19 ; Jer. iii. 14.

*Jesus is His people's Bride-groom.*²

Mark ii. 19 ; John iii. 29 ;

Rev. xix. 7.

Jehovah's providence over Israel is as that of a bird over her young.

Deut. xxxii. 11 ; Isa. xxxi. 5 ;

Ps. xci. 4.

Jesus would protect the Jews as a bird her young.

Matt. xxiii. 37.

Jehovah sent prophets, etc.

2 Chr. xxiv. 19 ; xxxvi. 15.

Jesus said, 'I send prophets', etc.

Matt. xxiii. 34 ; Luke xi. 49.³

Jehovah : 'I will be with his mouth and with thy mouth.'

Exodus iv. 15.

Jesus : 'I will give you a mouth of wisdom.'

Luke xxi. 15 (cf. Mark xiii. 11).

It is submitted that the above examination of select passages raises a very strong *presumption against the thesis of 'the only view' possible to a critical student of the Synoptic tradition being that Jesus of Nazareth was no more than a mere man.*

§ 7. 'The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God.' Thus S. Mark begins his book. The lay reader of *Mark* may be told in the name of criticism that 'some ancient authorities omit the Son of God'.⁴ As a matter of fact the *only* uncial MS. which omits the words is \aleph , the Sinaiticus. *All other* uncials, all cursives but two, *all* the versions retain the words 'the Son of God'.⁵ On good textual evidence, therefore, we may conclude that *in the earliest*

¹ John xiv. 13-14, 23 ; John xiv. 23 is a paraphrase of Matt. xxviii. 20.

² Dr. Briggs (*The Messiah of the Gospels*, p. 314) is not accurate in thinking that the marriage figure forms no part of the Messianic ideal.

³ In Luke xii. 49 the Speaker is 'The Wisdom of God.' On Jesus = Wisdom, see Rendel Harris, *Origin of Prologue to S. John's Gospel*, pp. 57, 62. See also *J. T. S.* October, 1924, p. 1.

⁴ So R. V. margin to Mark i. 1.

⁵ Dean Burgon, *Revision Revised*, p. 132.

*Gospel*¹ Jesus of Nazareth is described in the opening verse of it, as 'the Son of God' without any word of explanation. The writer knew that his readers would understand what he was writing for them. The title *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ* was meant by the author, a Christian, to be easily understood by his Christian readers, and as he furnishes no explanation of the expression in any part of his book, *it is not unreasonable to suppose that to writer and reader the title bore a meaning the early Christians had been accustomed to associate with it.* The whole Gospel is about 'the Son of God.' What did the expression mean? Since *Mark* is the earliest Gospel we may not in the first instance look at the other Gospels for the meaning of the phrase. The meaning, if anywhere, must be sought for in *Mark* itself in the first instance or in Christian literature earlier than *Mark*, such as the early speeches in *Acts*, the *Thessalonian Letters*, for example, and in the *Testimony Book*. The first and the third Gospels, and the Epistles of S. James and S. Peter may then be resorted to.

The suggestion which the Rev. F. Kingsbury has endeavoured² to popularise in India that, 'as every scholar knows,' the expression 'the Son of God' may mean 'a just man,' 'an innocent man,' 'a righteous man,' 'a servant of God,' 'the Messiah' may be dismissed as unhappy. In those places where 'the Son of God' occurs if we substitute one of these equivalents we shall see the misfit of the substitution, e.g.

The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, a just man . . .³

Art thou the Christ a righteous man . . . ?⁴

If thou be an innocent man . . .⁵

They that were in the ship worshipped Him saying, 'This is a just man'.⁶

It would be an improvement to deal with 'the Son of God' as equivalent to the 'Messiah,' although, by substitution, we may not escape infelicities in the following manner :

Art thou the Christ, the Christ ?⁷

Thou art the Christ, the Christ.⁸

Adam which was the Christ.⁹

We thus see that we cannot consistently substitute 'the Messiah' (the Christ) for 'the Son of God' in all places. *The true test of a meaning or equivalent being valid is its capacity for consistency of contents in all contexts.* Applying this test to the idea of 'the Son of God' being equivalent to 'the Messiah' we shall have no difficulty

¹ *The Christian Patriot*, l. 7. 22, p. 3.

² *Ibid.*

³ Mark i. 1.

⁴ Mark xiv. 61-62.

⁵ Matt. iv. 3-6.

⁶ Matt. xiv. 33.

⁷ Mark xiv. 61-62, read with the parallels.

⁸ Matt. xvi. 16.

⁹ Luke iii. 38. The word *υἱὸς* is understood throughout the genealogy and so in this verse.

in arriving at the conclusion that Jesus of Nazareth was *first the Son of God* and as such Son was declared to be the Messiah.¹

Every attempt to conceive of Him as *becoming* the Son of God makes shipwreck on the unconditioned character of His self-consciousness. . . . It was not that He awoke to find Himself Messiah, rising afterwards on the stepping-stone to the consciousness of Sonship. *Exactly the reverse is the truth.* He was Son of Man, Messianic Head and Sovereign of the kingdom, *in virtue of the still more fundamental conviction that He was Son of God.*²

S. Paul in a writing³ admittedly earlier than *Mark*, speaks of 'serving the living and true God' and of expecting 'His Son from Heaven . . . Jesus.' The non-controversial setting in which this reference to Jesus as the Son of the living God is made is significant. It may be a recalling of what in Christian circles had been known to be part of the confession⁴ of S. Peter at Caesarea Philippi prior to the Thessalonian Letter, or it may not be. At any rate the fact more relevant is that S. Paul was *not* writing to his Gentile readers⁵ of the Messiah but of the Son of God, although he had been previously trying without success to expound to Thessalonian Jews that Jesus was the Christ.⁶ It may be confidently asserted that the Thessalonian reference to the Son of the Living God—and it is in the earliest N. T. book—is not a reference to *the Messiah*, but to Jesus as the one who is throughout the Thessalonian Letter is equated with Deity.

In the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen,⁷ the parable which many of the hearers rightly understood as spoken against them, the reference to the householder is obviously to God, and 'the one, a beloved son' stands for God's Son. Parabolically there is portrayed in the passage Jesus as the Son of God and Heir. Mark's *ἔνα υἱὸν ἀγαπητὸν* is in Luke *τὸν υἱὸν μου τὸν ἀγαπητὸν*. The LXX.

¹ Even Harnack (*The Savings of Jesus*, E. tr., p. 245) admits 'with the most careful application of psychological methods it is obvious that our Lord's consciousness of Sonship *must have preceded in time* His consciousness of Messiahship.'

² Prof. H. R. Mackintosh, *The Person of Jesus Christ*, 29-30, (Italics mine). This is one of the books recommended by the Rev. F. Kingsbury (*Patriot*, July 1, 1922, p. 3) to an Indian inquirer.

³ 1 Thess. i. 9-10. *δοιλεῦεν Θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθῶ καὶ ἀγαμέμειν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν. . Ἰησοῦν.*

⁴ Matt. xvi. 16. The words 'The Son of the Living God' are not in *Mark* or *Luke*.

⁵ Milligan, *Thessalonians*, p. xxvii; Frame, *Thessalonians*, p. 5.

⁶ Acts xvii. 2-3.

⁷ Mark xii. 1-12.

of Gen. xxii. 2 has τὸν υἱὸν σου τὸν ἀγαπητόν for the Hebrew יְהִיָּה אֱתָ בֶּנֶךָ אֱתָ 'thine only son,' and hence, as Dalman points out,¹ *there is no difference* between ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός ['the Beloved Son'] of the Synoptists and ὁ υἱὸς ὁ μονογενής ['the Only Begotten Son'] of John iii. 16. Dalman remarks on the parable:

The position of an only son is in these cases as in Ps. ii. regarded as a lawful standing which confers a right to claim the entire household property. In the case of the Son of God the reference can only be to the sovereignty of the world, and to such a sovereignty as would be exercised not by a Jewish emperor *but by a Divine Sovereign*.²

Without necessarily agreeing with the reference to Ps. ii, one may observe that 'the Son of God' is *more* than the Messiah.

At the Jewish trial of our Lord the High Priest asked Him, 'I adjure Thee by the living God that Thou tell me if Thou art the Christ, *the Son of God*'.³ When the answer was, 'Thou sayest,' with the addition as to the heavenly glory of 'the Son of Man', the High Priest deduced therefrom nothing less than death-worthy blasphemy. One reading the account cannot fail to notice

(1) That the High Priest qualifies '*the Messiah*' by '*the Son of God*', the one *not* the same as the other, since, if so, it would be repetition.

(2) That our Lord applies 'the Messiah' and 'the Son of God', and 'the Son of Man' to the same person, Himself.

(3) That our Lord's claim was considered *blasphemous*.

It is now admitted by those informed in Jewish matters that *the claim to be the Messiah was never deemed blasphemy*.⁴ The blasphemy surely, then, *consisted in claiming equality with God*, in making the Son of Man and the Son of God the same.⁵

The view that Jesus of Nazareth was made 'the Son of God' at Baptism leaves out of account the earliest authentic saying of His. We read of the twelve-year old Boy found in the midst of the Doctors⁶ by His 'parents':

His mother said unto him, 'Son why hast thou dealt thus

¹ *The Words of Jesus*, E. tr., p. 281.

² *Ibid.*, 281. Italics mine.

³ Matt. xxvi. 63.

⁴ See authorities cited in Dr. Hilarin Felder's *Christ and the Critics*, i. 304. 305.

⁵ See Dr. Milligan's reasoning in *Expositor* (Sixth Series), v. 151.

⁶ The Jewish child had become 'the Son of the Law' and hence His having been taken to the Temple at that age (Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 235).

with us? Behold thy father¹ and I have sought thee sorrowing'. And he said unto them, 'How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that *I must be about my Father's business?*' And they understood not the saying which he spoke unto them.²

The genuineness of this passage is well attested, likewise its Lucan ring.³ *It distinctly conveys the impression of the Boy's consciousness of His being the Son of God.* No matter how or whence He had begun to have it, the fact of the consciousness is beyond controversy. We note:

(1) That 'my Father' is intentionally contrasted with Mary's 'your father and I'.

(2) That the expression is '*My Father*' and not 'our Father' or 'the Father of all'.

There is something superficial about the view that all men are God's sons and Jesus was likewise a Son, and that God is the Father of all men. Such a view ignores the uniform distinction in the use in the Gospels a student may observe in the application of 'Father' to God by our Lord and the use by others.

No one can miss the significance of the name 'My Father' so frequently applied by Him to God . . . a deliberate and selected phrase which sets His personal relation to the Father in a distinct place by itself. No parallels from pagan thought are of the least use in illustrating this; the Hellenic conception of the Divine Fatherhood, for example, starts not from ethical but from cosmic pre-suppositions. Nor is any real equivalent to be found in the religion of the Old Testament. If ethnic ideas leant with more or less decision to a naturalistic pantheism, Judaism had long stood in peril of the petrifying rigidities of deism. *Jesus' incommunicable consciousness of filial oneness with the Eternal is a new thing in the world.* In his second chapter, Luke represents the consciousness of this unique Sonship as already present at twelve years. There can be little doubt that from this indication and others we are justified in concluding that *Jesus knew Himself Son before His call to the Messiahship.*⁴

¹ He who teaches a child a trade is accounted its father, and so one into whose family a child finds admittance.

² Luke ii. 48-50. The reading 'In my Father's House' does not affect the sense of the passage. It rather throws light on Christ's quoting 'My House shall be called a House of prayer' and *taking action to enforce the fact* (Mark xi. 15)—thus either identifying Himself with Jehovah or equating Himself in interest and kinship with Him.

³ Harnack, *Luke the Physician* (E. tr.), pp. 96-105; Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, 1921 edition, p. 24.

⁴ Mackintosh, *The Person of Jesus Christ*, p. 26.

The only explanation of this consciousness is the Deity of Christ, the glory which He had with the Father from all eternity.¹ To ascribe the consciousness to some unique ethical sense is to violate all the known laws of child psychology.²

A short study of one more Synoptic passage will conclude this section. The words are :

All things have been delivered to me by the Father, and no one knows the Son except the Father, nor does any one know the Father except the Son and he to whom the Son wishes to reveal it.³ All things have been delivered to me by my Father and no one knows who the Son is except the Father, and who the Father is except the Son and he to whom he wishes to reveal it.⁴

The genuineness of these utterances is above dispute on purely textual grounds. They are given a place in what scholars call *Q*, a supposititious book of discourses to which sayings in *Matthew* and *Luke* have been traced.⁵ When we seek to grasp the significance of these words of our Lord we are face to face with the ineffable. The word 'unique' is bankrupt in adequacy when sought to be employed to express the inexpressible relationship which this singular saying suggests. 'Unique ethical' is equally insolvent. What do the words mean? Even Loisy is compelled to admit :

The Son recognizes only God, the Father, as perfect, and precisely for the reason that He is the Son, exactly as God the Father, only knows Christ, His Son, because He is the Father—God. The fundamental thought is the same as in the passage in John : 'No man hath seen God at any time ; the only begotten who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.'⁶

¹ John xvii. 5.

² See Dr. Hilarin Felder's observations at pp. 270, 271 of his *Christ and the Critics*, vol. i. On Luke ii. 48-50 see Dr. Alfred E. Garvie's *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus* in *The Expositor* (sixth series) v, pp. 260-70.

³ Matt. xi. 27. See Matt. xxviii. 18.

⁴ Luke x. 22.

⁵ Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus* (E. tr.), p. 265 where *Q* is given in translation, and in Greek at p. 135. According to Harnack *Q* had not the words, 'the Son except the Father neither has any one known,' and Harnack guesses (*on no textual grounds*) that these non-*Q* words were 'perhaps originally wanting in S. Matthew' (p. 19). Why?

⁶ *L'Evangile et l'Eglise*, 47, translated in Felder's *Christ and the Critics*, i, 277. Loisy here quoting John i 18 has avoided the well-attested reading (given in Nestle's *Greek N. T.*, p. 242) Μονογενὴς Θεὸς 'God the only Begotten.' Loisy has followed the inferior, and, in Nestle, the marginal, rendering.

To the Johannine passage cited by Loisy might have been added the more relevant Johannine logion, 'I and the Father are one'.¹ The saying under comment is thus understood by Prof. H. R. Mackintosh whose work *The Person of Jesus Christ* is relied on in Indian circles for the misleading of the unwary :

The words come home to us not so much as the sudden flash of a transient emotion as *rather the overflow of an habitual mood of feeling*. To question the authenticity is a desperate expedient and it is difficult to take seriously the insipid suggestion that they are more than half a quotation from the Son of Sirach. What it is of supreme moment for us to note is the 'unqualified correlation of the Father and the Son' these words proclaim. We are brought face to face with a *relationship of absolute intimacy and perfect mutual correspondence, which is intransferable by nature*. . . . All others become children of God by way of debt to Jesus ; in His case alone sonship is the constitutive factor of His being. The life of the Father and the Son is one life and either can be known only in the other. In these inexhaustible words, accordingly, there is presented something far greater than a new conception ; the conception is expressive of a new fact beyond which religion cannot go. . . .²

The logion, 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father'³ touches but the fringe of the mystery of the relationship, stated in the words we have noticed, between the Father and the Son. The contemplation of the relationship takes the mind into the very heart of the Godhead. Those who will not see the pre-existence of Jesus in the Synoptics have to consider whether or no 'the Baptismal formula (Matt. xxviii. 19) contained in every ancient manuscript and version and the logion, Matt. xi. 27=Luke x. 22, assigned by critics to the primitive "Logia" of S. Matthew, are *decisive* for consubstantiality.'⁴ The sonship we have commented on is the only explanation of the stupendous claims of Jesus in the Synoptic tradition—His attitude towards the Old Testament, His lordship over the Sabbath, His bestowal of forgiveness, His demands upon men's conscience and lives, His promise of rewards for deeds done in His name, and His assurance that He will come to judge the world.⁵

The Sonship of Jesus, not His being one of the children τέκνα Θεοῦ⁶ not even υἱὸς but ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ 'the Son of God',

¹ John x. 30.

² *The Person of Jesus Christ*, pp. 27, 28.

³ John xiv. 9.

⁴ Dr. Charles Harris, *Credo or No Credo?*, p. 263.

⁵ See the study of Matt. xi. 27, Luke x. 22, by Dr. Milligan in *The Expositor* (sixth series), v. pp. 153-56, and the observations of Dr. W. Sanday in *H. D. B.*, ii, 623.

⁶ 1 John iii. 1.

was not an investing of Him with a status at His baptism. Jesus was the Son of God before the Baptism, in His twelfth year and before all time. Because He was God's Son,¹ He was therefore the Christ.

§ 8. Respect to the deservedly great name of the late Dean Rashdall, on whose authority reliance is placed in the East for some views about the Person of Christ, necessitates reference to one particular aspect of the Dean's beliefs. He would seem to suggest that

(1) Every human soul reveals, reproduces, incarnates God to some extent,

(2) In saints and other great men God is more fully revealed than in others,

(3) In Jesus Christ the self-revelation of God has become signal, supreme and unique.²

The Rev. F. Kingsbury summarises Dean Rashdall thus: 'There are theologians who hold that God, who has always been incarnating Himself in the saints of all ages and climes, has now fully and for ever incarnated in the man, Jesus . . . who is *not* the eternal God but is spiritually, and morally, completely Godlike.'³ Mr. Kingsbury adds, to avoid misunderstanding, 'Jesus is no God . . . He was just an ordinary man and nothing more'.⁴

1. That God *incarnates Himself* in men is an assumption. There is absolutely not a tittle of evidence for such a mere supposition in the Old Testament or in the New. The word '*incarnate*' is misleading if it means no more than 'indwell' or 'is specially with'. The primary idea suggested by '*incarnates*' is 'is made flesh', other ideas being secondary. I doubt if Dean Rashdall's words can be taken to mean that God at different times '*was made flesh*' in His holy men.

2. A close approach to this 'incarnation' view of Dean Rashdall is furnished by the *avatar* belief of Hinduism. But the *Gītā*⁵ is surely not a Christian authority, and I shall be doing the Dean's memory an injustice were I to suggest that he drew his theology from the *Gītā*, his history from the *Vishnu Purāna*, and his inspiration from the *Mahābhārata*.

3. In the Siddhanta form of Hinduism we have clear authority⁶ for the statements that God appears *as man* to be man's spiritual Teacher (*Guru*), and that God is so much in His devotees that *they* may be deemed 'God'. Mr. Kingsbury, as I had occasion elsewhere

¹ In Acts iii. 13, 26; iv. 27, 30 the word rendered 'Son' and 'Child' in *A.V.* is not *υἱός* but *παῖς*, which sometimes means 'servant'. See Dalman, *The Words of Jesus* (E. tr.), pp. 277-79.

² *Jesus, Human and Divine*, p. 20.

³ *Patriot*, June 17, 1922, p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Gītā*, iv. 5-8.

⁶ I have dealt with this in *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, *Introd.*, pp. civ-cvi.

to show,¹ does *not* accept a great Siddhanta saint's word—and he was Tāyumāna Swamy—for the appearance of God as his guru.

This theory, thus, of God incarnating Himself in man 'at all times and in all climes' is not proved, probably not provable. It is unnecessary to say anything about what is but based on this assumption.

§ 9. There are two words which have an important bearing on the subject of the Deity of Jesus. They are 'Christ' and 'Lord'. The first of the Synoptics concludes its genealogy with the observation that of Mary was born 'Jesus who is called Christ'.² This reference does not show that the writer understood 'Christ' as an official title of the Person, Jesus. The later portions of that Gospel however give clear indication that Jesus was 'the Christ' 'the King of the Jews' fulfilling prophecy³ and 'the Son of David'.⁴ The Gospels show that, about the time of the birth of Jesus, there was an expectation of the coming of One in fulfilment of what the Jews of the time had been taught was found in Prophecy and Apocalyptic. This has recently been denied by a great Semitic scholar.⁵ His opinion is that *Matthew* is later than *The Jewish War* of Josephus, that the interval between the two books gave ample time for the Messianic expectation to be developed, and generally that 'the discussions in the Gospels on the subject of the Messiah, as a concept familiar to Jews and Samaritans, were projections from a later period'.⁶

Accepting, however, the generally current view on the subject, one notices that

(1) The conception of a Messiah in pre-Christian times was based upon the Old Testament and Jewish extra-Canonical writings.

¹ *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, Introd., Part vii.

² Matthew i. 16, 'Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος χριστός. The word *χριστός* (Christos) meaning 'anointed' is the LXX equivalent of the Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ (Mashiach), Messiah. In John iv. 25 the word 'Messiah' *Μεσσίας* occurs.

³ Matthew ii. 2, 4, 5.

⁴ Matthew xx. 30, xxi. 9.

⁵ The Rev. D. S. Margoliouth, D. Litt., F. B. A., of Oxford, in *Expositor*, Jan. 1923, p. 3. Attention may be drawn with the utmost deference to two matters, in the article, which are capable of a construction different from Dr. Margoliouth's. (1) The revelation to Peter in Matt. xvi. 24 was that a *particular Person* was 'the Christ,' and such revelation does not rebut belief being current about an expected 'Christ.' (2) Our Lord was not condemned for assuming the title 'Christ,' for it was *not* an offence to claim to be the Messiah [See authorities cited in Dr. Hilarin Felder's *Jesus Christ*, E. tr. under title, *Christ and the Critics*, vol. i, 304-05].

⁶ *Expositor*, Jan. 1923, p. 19. But *Q* and *Mark* have to be reckoned with.

(2) The conception developed with circumstances.

(3) Fulfilment of expectations was sometimes thought to be realized in some person in Jewish history and sometimes in another, and was later thought to *await* fulfilment.

(4) The ideal of a secular sovereignty persisted, side by side with that of a spiritual reign, down to the times of Christ.

(5) The resultant of combining ideals was the picture of a Person who was to be Prophet-Priest-King in one—a Prophet like unto Moses, a Priest after the order of Melchizedek, a King reigning in righteousness.

(6) The Messianic ideal, in the course of development, acquired an element unrealizable except in a post-mundane future.

(7) The Messiah was sometimes thought of as human, sometimes as super-human.¹

Jesus of Nazareth, while prophecy found fulfilment in Him and there was a fusion of the outstanding features of Messianic ideals of prophet and apocalypticist, *broke with tradition² and was not altogether the Messiah of orthodox expectation, at any rate He was responsible for investing the Messianic office with such striking and revolutionary characteristics as made Him the Messiah in no Jewish sense.* This accounts for His studied reticence, at a period of His ministry, as to His being the Christ, and also for the people's disappointment in Him.³

All the Old Testament ideals, though realized in one personality, cannot justify the tremendous claims made by the Son of Man in the New. For whereas the Messianic Kingdom in Old Testament prophecy and apocalyptic is just as frequently conceived without the Messiah as with Him, in the New Testament the Messiah forms its divine head and centre, and membership

¹ See the article *The Messiah of Old Testament Prophecy and Apocalyptic and the Christ of the New Testament* by Dr. R.H. Charles in *The Expositor*, April, 1902 (Sixth Series), v. pp. 241-59; Dr. C. A. Briggs' *The Messiah of the Gospels*, ch. i. viii, and the same writer's *The Messiah of the Apostles*, ch. i. and ii; Dr. A. Lukyn Williams' *The Hebrew Christian Messiah*, pp. 4, 249-76; Dr. Bernhard Weiss' *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, i. ch. i-vi; Dalman's *The Words of Jesus*, ch. xi-xii; Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. Part i, ch. v; Dr. V. H. Stanton's article, *Messiah*, in *H. D. B.* iii. 352; Dr. Hilarin Felder's *Christ and the Critics*, i. Part ii, ch. ii; Dr. C. Anderson Scott's *Dominus Noster*, ch. ii.

² Mackintosh, *The Person of Jesus Christ*, 16; C. Anderson Scott, *Dominus Noster*, 132.

³ Even on Ascension Day the disciples had not understood Him, Acts i. 6, cf. Luke xxiv. 21.

of the Kingdom is constituted first and chiefly by a living relationship to Him. . . . As other claims which are without any parallel in Old Testament prophecy of the Messiah we should realize first His claim to judge the world; and next to forgive sin, and finally to be the Lord of life and death. In the Old Testament these prerogatives belong to God alone.¹

There is evidence to sustain the view that in Jewish extra-Canonical literature there was a definite belief in a Deliverer who was not man but a Divine Person. No pseudepigraphic book has so many and so clear indications of the Deity of Israel's Deliverer as *The Psalms of Solomon*,² a work assigned by most scholars to a date not later than the first century before Christ. Of them, in Ps. xvii and xviii are some of the most important passages in all Jewish literature in connection with the history of the Messianic hope.³ Recent attention drawn to these *Psalms* by the Rev. Prof. Archibald Duff in a learned and devout inquiry as to the rise of the title 'Messiah'⁴ has helped the present writer to read the *Psalms* with renewed interest. A few passages may be quoted.⁵

viii, 37 Thou art our God from the beginning and on Thee is our hope O Lord.

—39 O Lord our Saviour we shall never be moved.

ix, 14. To whom doth He forgive sins except to them that have sinned?

xvii, 1. O Iahweh [Lord] Thou art our King for ever and ever.

xvii, 5. Thou O Lord didst choose David . . . and swarest to him . . . that never should his Kingdom fail before Thee.

xvii, 23. Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their King, the Son of David.

xvii, 28. He shall gather together a holy people.

xvii, 30. He shall know them that they are sons of their God.

xvii, 35, 36. He shall be a righteous King, taught of God, over them. . . . All shall be holy and their King, the Anointed, the Lord [Christ the Lord, *Χριστος Κυριος*, Christus Iahweh].

¹ R. H. Charles in *Expositor* (sixth series), v, pp. 257, 258.

² An English translation of the 18 Psalms by the late Dr. G. Buchanan Gray begins in the Oxford *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (Ed. R. H. Charles), vol. ii, p. 625.

³ Dr. Stanton in *H. D. B.* iii, 353.

⁴ *The Expositor*, March, 1923, p. 205. Dr. Duff deals with Prof. Margoliouth's article already referred to above of January, 1923, in the same journal, in which Dr. Margoliouth suggests (pp. 15-17) that the title 'Christ' was given to Jesus owing to the anointing in the house of Simon the Leper or because of His non-ascetic character.

⁵ The chapter and verse numbers are from the Oxford edition.

xvii, 51. The Lord Himself is our King.

xviii, 6. May God cleanse Israel against the day of mercy and blessing, against the day of choice when He bringeth back (*ἀναξίς*) His Anointed [Christ].¹

Attention may be drawn to the facts that the Psalms :—

1. Plead the promises to David.
2. Give the title 'Son of David' to the Deliverer prayed for.
3. Describe the Deliverer as the righteous King, the Anointed, the Christ, the Lord.
4. Imply a spiritual Kingdom, a holy people.²
5. Equate the King with the Lord Himself, Christ with God.

It is noticeable that they did not use the term *Μέσσιας* 'Messiah' as the title of King Iahweh. That term was not coined until the early Christians constructed it as the fittest title for their Jesus. In the Old Testament the word used was always Mashiach and never the other term Messiah, for there was no such term as the latter in the old Hebrew language. But when the early Christians called their Jesus the Anointed One, they felt that they must have a far stronger Name for Him than the old word Mashiach which meant 'one who had been anointed *once*,' a term which had been applied to kings and priests, and even to the Persian Emperor Cyrus, as Isaiah xlv says. So those Christians created an entirely new word, which Hebrew grammarians call a 'Piel,' i.e. a frequentative expression, by their well-known Semitic plan of doubling the middle consonant. By this device they said that for them Jesus was *Anointed* once and over, many times, constantly, and for ever. They would think of Him as the eternally Anointed One. Professor de Lagarde, the master Semitic scholar of Göttingen thirty years ago, used to delight to point out in the class how those Christians worshipped Jesus by this their very form of a word.³

Jesus of Nazareth is thus the Son of God, His 'Messianic vocation being based upon the filial consciousness, and throughout conditioned by it'.⁴ He is the Son of the Father, a relationship which 'accounts for everything in Jesus which differentiates Him from men'.⁵ He is the Messiah, and more. He is Christ the Lord.

¹ The Oxford edition *ad loc.* has a note (p. 651) that *ἀναξίς* would imply a 'bringing again' or 'bringing up' a pre-existing Messiah, but a doubt is added.

² Temporal deliverance is not ignored, e.g. in *Ps.* xvii, 24-27.

³ Prof. Alex. Duff in *The Expositor*, March, 1923, pp. 209, 210.

⁴ *Dominus Noster*, 162.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 163.

§ 10. The *Lord* Jesus Christ—in this combination we have the statement of Christ-work predicated of the Jesus of history, who is Christ and the Lord. 'Jesus of Nazareth, a man . . . the same Jesus is Lord and Christ'.¹ In the book of *Acts* the reference to Jesus as the Lord leaves no room to doubt His being equated with Deity.

He is designated not only the Lord of the theocracy or of believers, but also simply the Lord (ii. 36; xi. 23, 24; cf. *ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς* : i. 21, iv. 33, xi. 20, xv. 11), as only Jehovah Himself is named. For, following the example of the LXX, here also the Old Testament name of God is rendered in quotations by *ὁ κύριος* (ii. 20, 25, 34; iv. 26, and frequently), and God is designated simply *ὁ κύριος* (i. 24, iii. 19, iv. 29, cf. ii. 39). If now Jesus has become the *κύριος* in the same comprehensive sense, then a saying, which treats of the *Κύριος*-Jehovah may also be applied without more ado to the *κυριος*-Jesus, and that too, a saying which speaks of the invocation of God (ii. 20, 21, cf. vii. 59, 60).²

One does not, in reading the first chapter of *Acts*, find any indication whatsoever that the Lord Jesus of verse 21 is a different person from 'the Lord' in the prayer of verse 24. It is the same Lord of the prayer of the dying Stephen.³ Again it is the same Lord Who spoke in a vision to Ananias of Damascus,⁴ the Lord whose saints were at Jerusalem,⁵ the Lord to whom Paul was a chosen vessel,⁶ 'the Lord Jesus'.⁷ The Lord Jesus Christ, the writer of *Acts* is careful to make clear, is the Synoptic Jesus in respect of the promise of the Holy Spirit,⁸ and he then records :

Peter . . . said . . . This is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel : 'And it shall come to pass in the last days', saith God, 'I will pour out my Spirit . . . ' This, Jesus . . . having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost hath shed forth this . . . '⁹

¹ Acts ii. 22, 36. 'For the first time it has broken on human minds that Jesus is Lord. It is by the resurrection that He has taken His place openly as the Christ. We need not interpret the words as meaning that He was not Messiah previously, a position which makes a chaos of the Synoptic narrative; but certainly we may affirm that not till after death and resurrection was He the fully manifested Christ, in a perfect manner all that which Christ was to be' (Mackintosh, *The Person of Jesus Christ*, 40).

² Dr. Bernhard Weiss, *Biblical Theology of the New Testament* (E. Tr.), i, p. 180.

³ Acts vii. 59, 60.

⁴ Acts ix. 10.

⁵ Acts ix. 13 (ix. 5).

⁶ Acts ix. 15.

⁷ Acts ix. 17.

⁸ Acts i. 4.

⁹ Acts ii. 14, 16, 17, 32, 33.

The Lord Jesus is represented as fulfilling Joel's prophecy: He is God pouring out His Spirit upon all flesh.¹ It is the same Lord Jesus who gave Saul the gift of the Holy Ghost. There is therefore no surprise in finding S. Peter, writing years after Pentecost, of 'the Spirit of Christ' as the Spirit who spoke by the Prophets.² In the same Epistle we have the words of Isaiah quoted and adapted thus:

| | |
|---|---|
| Neither fear ye their fear, nor be in dread thereof. The Lord of hosts, Him shall ye sanctify; let Him be your fear, let Him be your dread. | Fear not their fear, neither be troubled, but sanctify in your hearts Christ as Lord. —1 Peter iii. 14, 15 (R.V.). |
|---|---|

—Isa. viii. 12, 13 (R.V.).

The Lord Jesus Christ is thus, without any explanation, or apology, equated with the Old Testament Lord God of hosts. It is simply impossible to suppose that the Jesus of *Acts* and of 1 *Peter* was a mere man, or at best a chief invested with lordliness as political chiefs of Greece or Rome had been, for of no mere man, of no chief in Greece or Rome, has anything ever been possible to be said anyway analogous to what is said of the Lord Jesus in *Acts* and 1 *Peter*.³ Either there is quite another, and esoteric, way of reading the early narratives in *Acts*, or it must be affirmed that *within six weeks of the Crucifixion*, the scheme had been planned and developed of deifying the Nazarene, who, from the point of view of popular Messianic expectations, had proved a stupendous disappointment.

§ 11. 'This same Jesus shall so come.'⁴ Stepping out of the Synoptics into *Acts* we catch in the angel's message echoes of the words, 'Ye shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven.'⁵ The Synoptic and other sayings about the coming again of Christ are set in a framing of Old Testament thought. '*The Day of the Lord*,' sums up all that the Old Testament has to say about the coming of Jehovah. It is too the early Christian conception of the coming of Christ. He is Lord, and there is the Day of the Lord. Thus in the earliest extant New Testament Letters, the Epistles to the Thessalonians, St. Paul says, 'The Day of the Lord will come as a thief in the

¹ Acts ix. 17. 'The Lord Jesus . . . hath sent me that thou mightest receive thy sight and be filled with the Holy Ghost'.

² 1 Pet. i. 11.

³ See the article 'The title *Kύριος* as applied to Jesus' in *The Expositor* for March 1918, p. 207, by the Rev. Prof. H. F. Andrews, for further 'Lord' passages. The political chief idea is Dr. B. W. Bacon's (See *The Expositor*, March 1923, p. 213). See also C. A. Scott, *Dominus Noster*, p. 217.

⁴ Acts i. 11.

⁵ Mark xiv. 62.

Capernaum and *he*, if any man, had means of knowing most about Jesus, and yet he unhesitatingly ascribes the dignity of Lordship over him equally and without distinction to God and Jesus.

In Ps. xxxiv. 8 are the words, 'O taste and see that the Lord is good,' manifestly applied to the Lord Jehovah. S. Peter obviously quotes this passage when he says, 'If so be ye have tasted that the Lord is gracious'.¹ That the Apostle speaks of Jesus of the Synoptics is manifest from these considerations :

1. In ii. 4 he says, '*To whom* coming.' It is a matter of simple grammar that '*To whom*' *πρὸς ὃν* refers to 'the Lord' which in the Greek stands last in the sentence *εἰ ἐγγεύσασθε ὅτι χρηστός ὁ Κύριος*. Even in the English Bible there is no possibility of mistake as to the antecedent.

2. In ii. 4 we have, 'To whom . . . a living stone disallowed indeed of men.' This latter part, a quotation from Ps. cxviii. 22, had been to the Apostle's knowledge applied by our Lord to Himself,² and the Apostle so explained the text after Pentecost.³

Jesus of Nazareth is definitely equated with the Lord of Ps. xxxiv. 8. One may be permitted to surmise that S. Peter's reference to the faithful as stones,⁴ and later as sheep⁵ may have been suggested by the promise :

And the Lord their God shall save them on that day as the flock of his people, for they shall be as the stones of a crown.⁶

The Prophet's analogy of the stones is in a setting, no doubt, different from the architectural figure of the Apostle, and may not, perhaps, be pressed, but in Jehovah shepherding His people and Jesus being the shepherd of souls we have an equation of Deity.⁷

In *Acts*, 1 *Peter*, and *James*, Jesus Christ is 'believed in with adoring truth as monotheists can believe in none but God.'⁸

§ 12. The very early date of the Thessalonian Letters,—their probable priority to *Mark*—has to be borne in mind in assessing the value of their testimony to the Deity of Christ. In them we find proofs for the following statements :

1. Jesus Christ is associated with God in a manner implying oneness (1 *Thess.* i. 1 ; 2 *Thess.* i. 1.)

¹ 1 Peter ii. 3. 1 Peter i. 19-20, analogous to *Rev.* . . . , in the 'foreknown' and 'manifested' imply the pre-existence of Jesus Christ.

² Mark xii. 10.

³ Acts iii. 10-11 'Jesus Christ of Nazareth . . . is the stone set at nought by you builders.'

⁴ 1 Peter ii. 5.

⁵ 1 Peter ii. 25.

⁶ Zech. ix. 16.

⁷ See above, p. 398.

⁸ Mackintosh, *Op. cit.* p. 47.

2. Jesus of history is the content of preaching, guide in life, source of authority, inspirer of the ministry, Saviour-Judge, the Son of God (1 *Thess.* i. 10, iii. 11, iii. 12, iv. 14, iv. 16, 17, v. 23; 2 *Thess.* i. 7; 2 *Thess.* iii. 3; 2 *Thess.* iii. 5).

3. 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ' is invoked on the faithful (2 *Thess.* iii. 18)—the grace of a man?

4. 'The very God of Peace' (1 *Thess.* v. 23) is 'The Lord of Peace' (2 *Thess.* iii. 16). The last expression recalls the later recorded Johannine saying of Jesus, 'My peace I give unto you'.¹

5. 'The word of the Lord' (1 *Thess.* i. 8; 2 *Thess.* iii. 1) is 'The word of God' (1 *Thess.* ii. 13).

6. In such expressions as 'the Church . . . in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ' (1 *Thess.* i. 1) read with 'the Churches of God which are in Judaea in Christ Jesus' (1 *Thess.* ii. 14), and 'the Gospel of God' (1 *Thess.* ii. 2, 9), read with 'the Gospel of Christ' (1 *Thess.* iii. 2)² the Apostle shows that he is writing *without intending any distinction between God and the Lord Jesus Christ*.³

There are two places in the Thessalonian Letters, in which it is possible to discover affinities to the Fourth Gospel—and the inference is that the Pauline and the Johannine ideas are *from a common early Christian tradition*.

(A) In 2 *Thess.* ii. 16 are the words which it is necessary to give both in English and in Greek:

'Now our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, and, God, even our Father, *which hath loved us* [who loved us] *and hath given us* [and gave us] *an everlasting consolation and good hope through grace*, comfort your hearts.'

Αὐτός δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ ἀγαπήσας ἡμᾶς καὶ δὸς παράκλησιν αἰωνίαν καὶ ἐλπίδα ἀγαθὴν ἐν χάριτι παρακαλέσαι

κ. τ. λ.

1. The Lord Jesus Christ is named first, as God the Father in 1 *Thess.* iii. 11. The Son and the Father, the Father and the Son, in whatever order named, *are accorded equal honour*.

¹ John, xiv. 27.

² It is the Apostles' Gospel (1 *Thess.* i. 5; 2 *Thess.* ii. 14) in that they preach it, but it is the Gospel of God, Gospel of Christ, in that the content of the Gospel is God-Christ.

³ For a detailed study of the Divine names in *Thess.* see Milligan, *Thess.* pp. 135-40. In these short, non-polemical, casual Letters the title 'Lord' occurs forty-six times, twenty-two times by itself and twenty-four times in combination with Jesus or Jesus Christ.

2. As in 1 *Thess.* iii. 11 where *both names are unitedly related to a verb in the singular* so in 2 *Thess.* ii. 16 the divine names are united and governed by a verb in the singular. *The subject of the verb in each instance is one in conception.*

3. If the two participles under one article *ὁ ἀγαπήσας καὶ δούς* (loved, gave) belong to *ὁ Θεός* alone,¹ then we have in 2 *Thess.* ii. 16 the thought later recorded, but earlier current, of the Johannine classic,² 'God so loved the world that He gave His Only Begotten Son that whoso believeth on Him should not perish but have eternal life.' The Thessolonian 'eternal comfort and good hope in virtue of grace' *παράκλησιν αἰώνιαν κ. τ. λ.* is the Johannine gift of the Son Himself and through His grace *ζωὴν αἰώνιον*.

4. If, on the other hand,³ the participles (loved, gave) refer both to God and Christ, then too we have the Johannine thought as above, with the added idea, equally Johannine, of oneness of the Father and the Son from before the foundation of the world, from all eternity, in one co-existent Being—'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God.'⁴

(B) The first eleven verses of, 1 *Thess.* v suggest at least four Johannine expressions: 'in darkness,' 'sons of the light,' 'sons of the day,' 'shall live with Him.'⁵ The last is more fully given in, 'We shall be for ever with the Lord' (1 *Thess.* iv. 17). In the Pauline *σύν Κυρίῳ, σύν αὐτῷ* we have the Johannine abiding in God, abiding in Christ, with the reciprocal and consequential God abiding in man, Christ abiding in man.⁶ Is this abiding *for ever πάντοτε* with a mere *man*, even the most glorified of men? We know whom we have believed.⁷

§ 13. The evidence so far led, it is humbly submitted, is sufficient to meet the proposition that a critical study of the Synoptic Gospels, *Acts* (i-xii), 1 *Peter* and *James* sustains only one view, namely, that Jesus of Nazareth was not God. In addition to testimony afforded from other writings, with which testimony we began our study, proof-passages of a similar character may, in this section, be briefly noticed.

¹ Milligan, *Thessalonians*, p. 108.

² John iii. 16. The Pauline, 'The Son of God who loved and gave Himself for me' (Gal. ii. 20) is another form of John iii. 16. It may be noted that 'God gave His Son' = 'The Son of God gave Himself.' The Son of God is God.

³ Frame, *Thessalonians*, p. 286.

⁴ John i. 1.

⁵ Cf. 1 John i. 6, iii. 10, iv. 15; S. John iii. 20; see Ephes. v. 8.

⁶ John xv. 3, xiv. 23; 1 John i. 5, ii. 24, iv. 16; Rev. iii. 20.

⁷ 2 Tim. i. 12.

- (1) Of the jailer at Philippi it is recorded :

They said, ' *Believe on the Lord Jesus*, and thou shalt be saved, thou and thy house.' And they spoke the word of the Lord. . . . And he was baptized, he and all his . . . and rejoiced greatly, with all his house, *having believed in God*.¹

The fact that belief on the *Lord Jesus* is equated with belief in *God* is striking.

(2) ' . . . Jesus Christ. He is Lord of all.'² With this may be compared what is said of the same Jesus, ' The Lamb . . . is Lord of Lords and King of Kings.'³ So too he who is called ' The Word of God ' has the Name, ' Lord of Lords and King of Kings,'⁴ and He is ' the blessed and only Potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.'⁵ The cumulative effect of these references (one of which from *Acts*) is to bring the titles and the person to whom they are applied within the full implication of what the Deuteronomist declared: ' The Lord your God is God of gods and Lord of lords,'⁶ and of what the non-Jewish King acknowledged, ' Of a truth . . . your God is a God of gods, and a Lord of kings. . . .'⁷ Jesus of Nazareth is given the titles of God.

(3) The equation of the Lord Jesus with God is clear on a parallelism of an Isaian saying with a Pauline :

I am God . . . I have sworn At the name of Jesus every
by myself that unto me knee should bow. . .
every knee shall bow. . . — *Philippians* ii. 10.⁸

— *Isaiah* xlv. 22-23.

- (4) The *A. V.* has the latter part of Col. ii. 2 thus :

To the acknowledgement of the mystery of God, and of the Father and of Christ. . . .

εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. . .

An old English writer, the Rev. Jacob Bryant, in a book called *The Sentiments of Philo Judaeus concerning the Logos or the Word of God*,⁹ makes these observations :

The words *την ἐπίγνωσιν κ.τ.λ.* should be rendered ' to the knowledge of the mystery of God, both of the Father and of the Christ,' or more fully, ' both of God the Father and of God the Christ.'¹⁰ This is the true purport of these significant terms,

¹ Acts xvi. 31-34.

² Acts x. 36.

³ Rev. xvii. 14.

⁴ Rev. xix. 13, 16. ⁵ 1 Tim. vi. 15. ⁶ Deut. x. 17. ⁷ Dan. ii. 47.

⁸ For the influence which undoubtedly led to the ' at ' of the *A. V.* to be changed into the ' in ' of the *R. V.*, see below § 14 towards the close.

⁹ Published at Cambridge in the year 1798.

¹⁰ In my copy which belonged to its last owner in 1835 the word ' Christ ' is handwritten over, and in place of, the printed ' Son '.

if there be any certainty in language. . . . The Divinity of our Saviour is here clearly ascertained, and His connexion with God is very justly called a mystery.¹

If the reading in Nestle's *Greek New Testament* be adopted, then too the reasoning of Mr. Bryant holds good, if not rendered stronger :

εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ, Χριστοῦ

'To a knowledge of the mystery of God, of Christ. . .'

Dr. Moffatt in his *New Testament*, apparently following a reading different from what underlies the *A.V.*, and Nestle, translates the passage :

To know the open secret of God, the Father of Christ. . .

The *Colossian Epistle* has definite intimations of the Deity of Christ in the great saying, 'In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily',² and so ii. 2 may borrow light from ii. 9 :

The words [ii. 9] mean that in Christ there is to be found, as a unity or in organic relation, the entire sum of qualities and attributes by which the being of God is constituted. The subordination of Christ, therefore, was on his [S. Paul's] view compatible with His having a place within the Godhead. It was a subjection by which the unity of God was exhibited, not destroyed.³

(5) 'Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness : God was manifest in the flesh. . . .'⁴

A great deal of discussion has been devoted to the original of the words in the *A.V.* The text underlying the *A.V.* is ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶν τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστηρίου Θεοῦ ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί . . .

The *R.V.* is based on a reading of the text as ὃς (who) for Θεός (God), and the *R.V.* margin has ὁ. In favour of Θεός (God) are, apart from textual considerations, the following :

1. 'Mystery *who*' sounds ungrammatical in English.

2. Since 'manifest in the flesh' decidedly implies a '*not in the flesh*' state prior to such manifestation, 'God' is more reasonable than 'Who' or 'He who'.⁵

¹ p. 53. The sense in modern Biblical understanding of μυστηρίου is not likely to weaken the argument.

² *Col.* ii. 9.

³ Mackintosh, *op. cit.* 72, 73.

⁴ 1 Tim. iii. 16. The question of the authorship of the *Pastoral Epistles* does not affect the present argument. The most recent work on the *Pastorals* is Dr. Lock's *The Pastoral Epistles* [1924] in the '*Int. Cr. Commentary*' series.

⁵ The *R.V.* has 'He who'. Moffatt's translation of the portion given above is, 'Who does not admit how profound is the divine truth of our religion?—it is He Who was manifest in the flesh. . .'

3 The 'He who' raises the inquiry, 'Who is He'?

4. The text belongs to an epistle in which the Deity of Christ is stated.

The text on which the *A.V.* is based had $\Theta\varsigma$ (contracted manuscript form for $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$) and the Revisers say that the reading is Oc ($\omicron\varsigma$, 'Who' or 'He Who'). Dean Burgon has marshalled evidence of dates long anterior to the time of the revision of the *A.V.* of the *existence in an old manuscript of the reading* $\Theta\varsigma$, and he has very forcibly pointed out that age could make the horizontal line in $\Theta\varsigma$ grow dim, and disappear, till Oc is left—and as a matter of fact the Revisers admit that the top horizontal line had been seen by some of them.¹

(6) The *A.V.* in *Romans ix. 5* is:

Of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen.

There never has been any manner of doubt as to the Greek text underlying this passage which is one of the most overwhelmingly attested in the New Testament. But in the Revised Version margin is given how some 'modern interpreters' deal with the verse. Note, it is *not* a question of the Greek reading but a matter of *interpreting the admitted reading*. The *R.V.* margin notes that 'some modern interpreters':

1. Place a full stop after 'flesh' and translate, *He who is God over all be (is) blessed for ever*,

2. Or, He who is over all is God blessed for ever,

3. Or, ' . . . flesh, . . . who is over all. God be (is) blessed for ever.'²

On this *interpretation* which has *nothing* whatever to do with *textual criticism* Dean Burgon says meritedly severe things.³

(7) Two passages may be dealt with together:—

Titus ii. 13, Manifestation of the glory of *our Great God and Saviour Jesus Christ*. (*A.V.* margin).

2 Peter i. 1 Righteousness of *our God and Saviour Jesus Christ*.⁴

¹ Burgon, *Revision Revised*, pp. 98-106, 420-501. It is interesting that Dr. Vance Smith, an American Unitarian Divine, was one of the Revisers. If Burgon's reasoning and facts are all wrong, one can let go 1 Tim. iii. 16, since there are other proof-texts to compensate for the loss of this.

² Dr. Westcott does not agree with Dr. Hort as to this *interpretation* of Rom. ix. 5.

³ *Revision Revised*, pp. 210-4.

⁴ Mr. Kingsbury (*Patriot* 2.9.22) sweepingly says that 'no scholar of any repute' believes 2 *Peter* to be a genuine letter of S. Peter. What about F. Spitta? What about Dr. Zahn? What about Dr. Charles

The grammar of the Greek demands that One and the same Person is covered by the definite article under which are placed the two substantival terms. It is necessary to give the Greek:

Titus ii. 13 . . . ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ [def. article] μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ . . .

2 Pet. i. 1 *ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ [def. article] Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ Σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

'There is no solid grammatical reason for one to hesitate to translate 2 Pet. i. 1 "Our God and Saviour Jesus Christ" and Titus ii. 13 "our Great God and Saviour Christ Jesus"'.¹

(8) In the course of S. Paul's charge to the Ephesian elders he exhorts them 'to feed the Church of God which He purchased with His own blood'.² In *Nestle* the text runs agreeably to the basis of the A.V., ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἣν περιποίησατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου.

The text which has the support of the two oldest and best manuscripts is unequivocal testimony to the Deity of the historical Jesus of Calvary.

Enough has been shown, it is submitted, to justify early Christian and later belief in the Deity of Christ. Our survey of texts to a great extent keeps out of view the humanity of our Lord consistently with the purpose of this study. It will be seen, however, from one of the texts cited, *Acts* ii. 12, that the early Church held 'with equal emphasis, and apparently without any sense of contradiction, both

Bigg who has advocated the Petrine authorship of 2 *Peter* in his great commentary on 1 and 2 *Peter* and *Jude* in the I.C.C. series? Dr. R. A. Falconer (*Expositor*, sixth series, vol. vi, p. 227) attributes the comparatively inglorious canonical record of 2 *Peter* to, among other things, the obscurity of the Churches of Samaria, the destination of the letter.

¹ Dr. A. T. Robertson, in *Expositor*, March 1921, p. 187. On the grammar see the whole contribution, pp. 182-88; Robertson, *Grammar of Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, pp. 785, 786; Winer (Moulton's Edition) *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, p. 162.

² *Acts* xx. 28. Dr. Hort (one of the makers of the R.V.) 'conjectures' that the word 'Son' υἱοῦ has dropped out after τοῦ ἰδίου. *There is not a tittle of textual authority for the conjecture.* (See Burgon, *Op. cit.*, 353). Dr. Moffat apparently unconvinced by Dr. Hort's conjectures has (like the American Revisers) 'the Church of the Lord which He purchased with His own blood.' ~~The word~~

the true Humanity and the effective Divinity of her Lord'.¹ The disciples moved with Him as Man: they found Him God. They called Him Lord, and God, because there was no other term but a term expressive of Deity that could be found to describe Him,² and the word 'God' has no synonyms.³

Christology as such is meaningless, save on the presupposition of Christ's Godhead, while, on the other hand, His Godhead is no random or arbitrary postulate, but the reverse side of the assurance that He is the proper object of saving faith. 'Worship God through Christ, and Christ only as God,' is an axiom inviolable and sacrosanct. . . . Love, the spirit which gives its own life to others, is the inmost reality of Christ and of God, and it was manifested transcendently in His historic advent. It was because deity was His from before all time that He possessed the unspeakable gift to lay on love's altar. On the other hand, the conception of an acquired⁴ divinity stands on a lower ethical plane; it has parted with the aspect of sublimity.⁵

The confession of S. Thomas is consistent with the Christology of the earliest Christianity, 'My Lord and my God.'⁶ It is the logical outcome of the correct appraisal of the Person of One who claims to save His people from their sins. Even the reproach hurled at the Crucified had some plausibility of reason in it—could He save?—only its logic was clouded by scepticism and scorn! But there is something pitifully pathetic in the profession that Jesus, a mere man, an ill-informed Galilean, a tactless enthusiast, such as the brilliant unbelief of Renan⁷ has pictured for the infidelity of all ages, is the Redeemer of souls, the Saviour from one's sins, and the way to Life Eternal.

§ 14. If a layman may presume to counsel fellow-laymen, a word on some methods of criticism may be allowed to conclude the present study. Criticism is not to be belittled. Its refining influence, its interpretative and illuminative value, and its capacity to create the proper perspective in matters of study are by no means to be underrated. The danger, however, to those who do not specialise in any particular branch of Biblical learning and are consequently ill-equipped is two-fold from criticism. In the first place they have to take a great deal on trust. In the second place they often have to encounter a form of 'bluff,' an unscholarly

¹ *Dominus Noster*, 175.

² *Ibid.*, 109, 219.

³ Mack. *Op. cit.* 422.

⁴ As maintained by a few Ritschlians and others among whom is Harnack who means by divinity, 'God was in Christ.'

⁵ Prof. H. R. Mackintosh, *The Person of Jesus Christ*, pp. 423-24.

⁶ John xx. 28.

⁷ *Life of Jesus*, by E. Renan.

expedient of the desperate, though not necessarily of the dishonest, consisting of almost pontifical pronouncements upon matters which are, in reality, far from being finally settled. 'Oh, everybody knows' (with the omniscience of Macaulay's schoolboy), or 'nobody nowadays believes, etc.', or 'It is one of the assured results of scientific criticism'—these are some of the usual ways in which the unwary are mystified.

'Believe not every spirit' is a wholesome warning in matters intellectual as in matters spiritual. Again what a layman, one not fairly well-equipped for dealing with questions of Biblical scholarship, has to guard himself against is the credulous acceptance of opinions of writers, either because a writer's credentials are high or because it is fashionable¹ to follow him. It should be remembered that an author may be wrong despite his deservedly high reputation and those who blindly follow him may be far from right. *Prove all things, hold fast to what is good.*

To illustrate the peril of great names a few instances of views on the subject of the Deity of Christ may now be noticed:—

1. The learned Editor of *The Princeton Theological Review* quotes² the following from Peake's one-volume Bible Commentary,³ from the notes on Ps. xlv. 6:

For 'Thy throne, O God' the original must have had 'Thy throne O Yahweh', 'God' being due to the editor of the *Elohistic Psalter*. But 'Yahweh' was itself a mistake of the scribe for 'will be' (yih'yeh being changed into 'Yahweh'). Read therefore, 'Thy throne will exist for ever'.

The Editor of *The Princeton Theological Review* thus comments on this quotation:

Notice the steps in the argument, if argument it can be called: '*must have been . . . was itself a mistake . . . Read therefore*'. We might almost imagine that the critic had seen the original manuscript with his own eyes and watched the 'editor' and the 'scribe' at their work. Prof. Addis [since deceased, the writer of the comments on Ps. xlv. 6 in *Peake*] cannot have been ignorant of the fact that the emendation which he states with such finality was only one of a number of such conjectural changes. He must have been aware that this particular emendation was opposed by some of the ablest critics, men whose scholarship he would not have thought of questioning. . . Yet like Prof. Barton and Prof. McFadyen *he did not hesitate to*

¹ This is Bacon's *Idola Theatri*. See *Novum Organum*, Bk. i. Aphorism, 44.

² *P.T.R.*, April 1923, p. 265.

³ *Peake*, p. 380. Mr. Kingsbury recommends *Peake* to Students of Divinity (*Patriot*, 1.7.22.).

*present it to a 'popular audience' as an assured result of criticism established beyond dispute.*¹

Prof. G. A. Barton (*Religion of Israel*, p. 198, note) attributes the text of Ps. xlv. 6 to a redactor's clumsy work. Prof. J. E. McFadyen (*Psalms in Modern Speech*, p. 68) renders Ps. xlv. 6, 'Thy throne shall stand for ever and ever', but gives no reason for his rendering.

2. The lapse of a great grammarian is thus noticed by Dr. A. T. Robertson :

There is no escape from the logic of the Greek article in 2 Pet. i. 1. The idiom compels the translation, 'Our God and Saviour Jesus Christ'. One may agree or not with the author, but that is what he said and meant to say. The simple truth is that Winer's anti-Trinitarian prejudice overruled his grammatical rectitude in his remark² about 2 Pet. i. 1. The name of Winer was supreme in New Testament grammar for three generations, and his lapse from the plain path on this point is responsible for the confusion of the scholars in the English versions on 2 Pet. i. 1.³

Winer's candour, however, in confessing his prepossession which had swayed his scholarship, is commendable, for he acknowledged in a note to his remarks on Titus ii. 13, where the grammar is the same as in 2 Pet. i. 1, that '*dogmatic convictions*' had influenced his mind.

3. Alfred Loisy (once a Roman Catholic Priest) is now an exponent of anti-Christian views, and a prolific modernist writer. His position with reference to Matt. xi. 27, Luke ix. 22, which are traceable even to the critics' *Q* (see above, p. 405) illustrates the power of prepossession which precipitates him into an arbitrariness which, in a child is petulant, in a scholar pitiable. *He admits the full doctrinal implications of the logion in question.*⁴ He gets rid of the implications by assuming that the passage *must be unauthentic.*⁵ Such 'unprejudiced' criticism, observes Dr. Hilarin Felder, truly deserves not a word of refutation.⁶

4. The influence of prepossessions is to be found in even critics of earlier eminence than Loisy. David Strauss in his famous *Life*

¹ *P. T. R.*, April 1923, pp. 265, 266.

² Winer's *Grammar of Greek N.T.* (Ed. Moulton), p. 162. Winer argued that *two* Persons are meant.

³ *The Expositor*, March 1921, p. 185.

⁴ *Autour d'un petit Livre*, 130. *Les Evangiles Synoptiques*, i. 194, 909 (1907) quoted in Dr. Felder's *Jesus Christ* (E. Tr. as *Christ and the Critics*, i, p. 278).

⁵ *Les Evang. Syn.* i. 243, 909, *apud* Felder.

⁶ *Christ and the Critics*, i, p. 302.

of Jesus¹ writes on *Matt. xi. 27, Luke ix. 22*, 'This utterance, which in the first and third Gospels stands quite isolated, suggests to us a fundamental view similar to that of the fourth Gospel and *appears therefore* as an addition—the idea of Jesus to exalt Himself above the human.'

5. So great a scholar as Prof. Harnack of Germany is not above sub-conscious bias. In his *Sayings of Jesus* he establishes the textual antiquity of *Matt. xi. 27* beyond all doubt, but adds: 'All our witnesses for Matthew and for Luke have it. The most obvious, because the simplest, supposition is that Matthew brought it into his text. . . . The canonical *interpretation* of the utterance is *Johannine and untenable*.'²

6. Dean Burgon has given in his writings³ illustrations of inherent bias swaying scholarship even in matters of textual criticism. In the course of his vindication of the A.V. reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16 (see above, p. 419) he quotes⁴ Dr. Vance Smith the Unitarian among the Revisers of 1881:

The old reading is pronounced untenable by the Revisers as it has long been known to be by all careful students of the New Testament. . . . It is in truth another example of the facility with which ancient copiers could introduce the word 'God' into their manuscripts—a reading which was the natural result of the growing tendency in early Christian times . . . to look upon the humble Teacher as the incarnate Word, and therefore as 'God manifested in the flesh'.

The layman, if unable to understand fully Dean Burgon in his vehement vindication⁵ of 1 Tim. iii. 16 against all Vance Smiths, will note about the above extract:

1. There *was* an *old* reading which had 'God' and not 'He who' or 'which'.

2. 'As it has long been known to all careful students'—scholarly bluff, as if scholars who proved the 'God' reading were *not* 'careful students of the New Testament.'

3. The existence of the 'God' reading being admitted to be *old* and 'long known' to 'careful students', its presence in the text is attributed to some Trinitarian copyist.

Concerning 'careful students' it may be observed with Dean Burgon⁶ that scholars had seen and read 'God' in the manuscript,

¹ *Apud* Felder, *Op., cit.* p. 280.

² *Sayings of Jesus*, E. Tr., p. 265.

³ *Revision Revised*, and *Corruption of the text*, and *Last Twelve Verses of S. Mark* principally.

⁴ *Revision Revised*, p. 515, quoting *Texts and Margins*, p. 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-106, 424-501.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 432, 433.

and their examination of the manuscript years and years before the Revisers' day justified them to say, 'The genuine and original reading of the manuscripts was Θς'. Burgon cites testimony from A.D. 1628-1741, and puts it to Bp. Ellicott, 'How *you* (A.D. 1882,) after surveying all this accumulated and consistent testimony (borne A.D. 1628-1741) by eye-witnesses as competent to observe a fact of this kind as yourself, and fully as deserving of credit, when they solemnly declare what they have seen—how *you*, I say, after a survey of this evidence, can gravely sit down and inform the world that *there is no sufficient* evidence that there was ever a time when this reading was patent as the reading which came from the original scribe—this passes my comprehension.'¹

7. How prepossessions sway scholarship may be further seen in what has been said of no less a scholar than Wetestein, whose work on the New Testament now out of print is a monument of Biblical learning, that 'he was one of those miserable men whose visual organs returned a false report to their possessor whenever they are shown a text which witnesses inconveniently to the Godhead of Jesus Christ.'²

An indictment against the R. V. that as to 2 Pet. i. 1 it failed in a point of pure grammar is thus sustained by one of the greatest Greek scholars living:³

The King James' Version renders it 'God and our Saviour Jesus Christ,' while the American Standard Version reads, 'our God and the Saviour Jesus Christ' (note the insertion of *the* not in the Greek text) after the marginal rendering of the Canterbury Revision. *Now, why this confusion where the syntax is so simple? A strange timidity seized some of the translators in the Jerusalem Chamber* [in Westminster, where the Revisers worked] *that is reproduced by the American Committee.* There is no hesitation in translating John i. 1 as the text has it. Why boggle over 2 Peter i. 1?

The 'strange timidity' is easily traced to its source. It is the subtle influence of Dr. Vance Smith, the *Unitarian Reviser*. Witness his Socinian boast,⁴ no doubt about his share in the production of the *Revised Version*:

The only instance in the New Testament in which the religious worship or adoration of Christ was apparently implied has been *altered*⁵ by the Revision: '*At* the name of Jesus every knee shall bow' is now to be read '*In* the name.' Moreover, no

¹ *Revision Revised*, pp. 433, 434. Bengel in 1734 had cited the Codex Alexandrinus as witness for the 'God' reading.

² Burgon, *Revision Revised*, 434 quoting C. F. Matthaei and Woide.

³ Dr. A. T. Robertson, *Expositor*, March 1921, p. 185.

⁴ *Texts and Margins*, 47. ⁵ Note, 'altered' 'alteration of text.'

alteration of text or of translation will be found anywhere to make up for this loss, as indeed it is *well understood*¹ that the New Testament contains neither precept nor example which really sanctions the religious worship of Jesus Christ.

This boast is on a par with his declaring in *The Times* of July 11, 1870, after receiving Holy Communion in the Abbey with his fellow-revisers, that he had done so with mental reservations and 'without joining in the Nicene Creed.'²

We laymen may well warn ourselves about the methods of some critics, and remember that :

1. Name, fame, and reputation for scholarship do not necessarily imply inerrancy,
2. Prepossessions³ play a great part in verdicts,

¹ Notice the tone of finality here.

² Burgon, *Revision Revised*, p. 507. The Resolution to eject Dr. Vance Smith from the Revision Committee is quoted by Dean Burgon.

³ Augustine Birrell (*Collected Essays and Addresses*, iii. 21) writes, 'Romance, imagination, predilection, passion, prejudice, personal aversion, are at least as likely to be found inhabiting the studies of biblical students as infecting the laboratories of rival biologists, or the offices of party politicians.' In the course of a very interesting notice, in *The Church Times* of August 22, 1924, of Dr. Charles Piepenbring's *Historical Jesus* (Allen and Unwin, 1924), the reviewer writes what may be appositely quoted here :—

Everything moves to scale ; each sentence of the Gospels is earmarked as 'earlier' or 'later,' the standard of antiquity being apparently the inverse ratio of spiritual content—for which the author's scent is pitiless. In this geometrical progression of fiction no detail is allowed to come to light gradually, no memory to be contributed from the reserve of personal experience ; nor does it matter to the *ipse dixit*, that the oldest oracles are naturally the scrappiest. It is like discrediting a letter because it follows a post-card. Under such 'criticism,' we wonder how M. Piepenbring would establish the fact of his own identity ; or, indeed, of his existence.

Cool, bald generalities are served up as proofs : from the stark assertion 'This is open to the most serious objections,' we are wafted on to the gay finality, 'As we have seen' (pp. 158-59). One marvels at the reverence of treatment ; at the capitalised pronoun, 'He' ; at the mental gymnasty, which after reducing 'Him' to a semi-mythical fanatic, can talk of His 'grandeur and surpassing worth'. Whence the reverence of this school ? Why this curious scrutiny of every footprint of a Phantom ? Truly He lacks not for unconscious tribute.

3. To prejudice may be attributed some critical utterances,
4. Possibility, probability, proof are not always distinguished,
5. Foundation propositions need being boldly faced and severely scrutinized,
6. The subtle manner in which an 'It is well understood', or 'You will admit of course', or 'It may be safely assumed' insinuates itself into a statement is often fraught with harm,
7. As far as possible references should be verified.

These be thy gods, O British 'Modernist' of the bent back ! This is the kind of infallibility (Shaw, thy pen !) that lies behind our superior catchwords—'It has been conclusively proved,' etc. ; and 'Everybody knows that is quite discredited now ! ' We English are called 'insular' ; or call ourselves so. The allegation—in *sacris* at least—may be patient of more than one questionmark. We are free to worship whom, and what, we choose. But inasmuch as we cast, under a foreign idol-car, the written witness of our Life, we invoke the judicial penance of a very admired inanity.

The Last Journey of Jesus to Jerusalem, by Dr. W. H. Cadman of Mansfield College, Oxford (Oxford University Press, 1923), has a very arresting thesis attractively argued. The path, however, of the thesis to the throne designed for it by the learned author is strewn with texts stabbed to death with a 'probably' or a 'presumably' often from behind. A hired Marcan 'redactor' and a Matthean 'editor' and 'some revising hand' do valiant battle for the author's cause. The old ally 'Q' is a suspect. The casualties list includes well-known and well-attested texts. Among injuries sustained are gaping wounds such as these :—

- 'undoubtedly only editorial'
- 'doubtless unhistorical'
- 'editorial explanatory amplification'
- 'editorial literary transition'
- 'not historically sound'
- 'probably artificial'
- 'post eventum editing'
- 'either unhistorical or post-dated'—

These, be it remembered, have been caused with weapons other than 'textual criticism.'

A very instructive and very learned protest against a method of criticism of which Dr. Moffatt's *Introduction to the Literature of the N. T.* is chosen as a type is Sir W. M. Ramsay's *The First Christian Century* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1911). Sir W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., LL.D., LITT. D., is one of the greatest of living New Testament Scholars.

NOTE ON SOME RECENT BOOKS

Rev. Prof. A. McGiffert, D.D., in *The God of the Early Christians* (T. and T. Clark, 1924) contends that Christ, and not Jehovah, was the God of primitive Christianity. He finds in Rom. ix. 5 and in 1 John v. 20, clear statements of the Deity of Christ (pp. 27, 38). On κύριος, Lord, the author says (p. 42), 'All our primitive Christian documents call Christ Lord, except Titus and Epistles of John. Whatever the word meant to others, at any rate to the Gentile converts it must have suggested Christ's divinity.' In Acts xx. 28 Dr. McGiffert (p. 53) favours the reading 'God', and in 2 Peter i. 1, Titus ii. 13 the reading advocated by the authorities I have cited above. The learned author (p. 194) attributes to Gentile Christians the conception of the Deity of Christ as against the 'God of Jews'.

Dr. W. Burton in his *The Christian's God* (James Clarke, 1924) does not discuss the Deity of Christ but states generally (p. 151) that there are direct and categorical declarations of Christ's Deity in *N.T.*

Ecce Deus by the Rev. H. L. Dixon, M.A. (Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co., 1924) is a book aiming at the building up of thorough Christian convictions. It and *Dominus Noster* should be read by laymen, and others. Mr. J. Herbert Williams, M.A., has written a book, *The Divinity of Christ in the N.T.* (Murray, 1923). It is a layman's book written for laymen. Its lay origin does not detract from its sound scholarship and clear reasoning.

Prof. A. S. Peake who is not more than editorially responsible for the opinions of those who have contributed to his *Commentary* has written *The Messiah and the Son of Man* (Manchester University Press, 1924), in which he reasons forcibly in favour of the early consciousness of our Lord, of His sonship and Messianic office.

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